

The Nation

February 6, 1982 \$1.25

EDITORIAL

STATE OF DISUNION

The State of the Union was never so telegraphed and its message never so simple: More Of The Same. The semaphores from the ship of state disclosed the burden (heavy) days before the grade-A actor we cast as President spoke his lines on the Capitol stage. We were led to believe that up until the last moment Reagan was wrestling with the question of imposing new taxes to close the budget deficit. The devil tempted him: "You just can't have a deficit of \$100 billion, so forget your principles." But his good angel whispered, "Do what is right. Keep the faith and the supply side will make the heavens ring with hosannas." And thus it was writ.

Faith is what the President demanded—faith in a dream. We can return to the past. We can act as if we were a nation of farmers and artisans and tithe ourselves out of the ugly problems of a mismanaged modern industrial society. The speech was a period piece, an exercise in nostalgia, an evocation of what never was.

"Unfair," murmured the Democrats, the putative opposition party, in their odd, pre-packaged, TV docudrama reply. But that reflex is not enough. On the day Reagan stuck to his spiked guns and the Federal Reserve's Paul Volcker again prescribed a strong dose of high-interest recession salts, the Democrats should have yelled bloody murder. And they should have urged a program that is the reverse of Reagan's—strong Federal action to end inequities and stimulate the economy.

At the very least a vigorous opposition would have noted the obvious fact that the proposed "equal swap" of Medicaid for welfare and food-stamp programs is stacked against the states and cities. Medical costs are containable, after all. Welfare costs in a Reagan depression are not. This State of Disunion is more than unfair. It is both disingenuous and mean.

G.M. INHERITS
THE EARTH
Jamie Kitman

ANTICRIME
FOR PRO-
GRESSIVES
Bertram Gross

RECAPTURING
THE 'FAMILY
ISSUE'
Michael
Lerner

'THE SKY-
SCRAPER'
Michael Sorkin

IN SEARCH OF
ISRAEL
Lesley
Hazleton

M.I.T.-WHITEHEAD MERGER

THE SELLING OF THE UNIVERSITY

DAVID F. NOBLE

It used to be that the big news from university science departments consisted of announcements of discoveries in the laboratory. In recent years, however, innovative arrangements for collaboration between universities and business have been making the headlines. Centers, programs and institutes for joint research in microelectronics, computer-based automation, telecommunications and biotechnology are proliferating on campuses across the land.

Thus, we hear that Carnegie Mellon University is cooperating with Westinghouse in robotics research; that Honeywell, Sperry Univac, General Electric (G.E.) and Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing are partners with the University of Minnesota in its new Microelectronics and Information Center; that the Massachusetts Institute of Technology is engaged in joint research with International Telephone and Telegraph, General Motors and ten other firms at M.I.T.'s Polymer Processing Laboratory in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and with Exxon in a landmark "combustion" project. Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute is working with I.B.M., G.E., Grumman, Lockheed, Prime Computer, Bethlehem Steel and other corporations on computer-interactive graphics. In the "hot" field of genetic research, Harvard is paired with Monsanto, Washington University with Mallinckrodt, Massachusetts General Hospital with Hoechst A.G., a German chemical firm, Harvard Medical School with Du Pont, and Cornell with several agribusiness firms.

Stanford University, one of the pioneers in this kind of collaboration, now has two industry

(Continued on Page 143)

LETTERS.

CAVEAT LECTOR

Palisades, N.Y.

An article that illuminates how reality inverts a party line can be wonderful, but Jim Quinn ["Lingo," *The Nation*, Dec. 19, 1981] should be left twisting in the wind.

"The Nixonites were attacked as enemies of clear thought and expression—as if their metaphors were unclear or inexpressive." Quinn cites just three examples—"the Plumbers," "the hangout route" and "good stroke with somebody"—as proof that "rich metaphorical locker-room humor" typified "Nixon and his co-conspirators." Even if his examples were more impressive, they would not make the rest of us forget the daily poisonous ooze of evasive metaphors and phrases with which Richard Nixon, Henry Kissinger and the gang tried to disguise the nature and intent of their policies and actions in Vietnam and Cambodia, in economic and racial matters, in support of genocide in Bangladesh (does Quinn remember "tilt"?), and in the Watergate saga.

Quinn lionizes Alexander Haig for reviving *caveat* as a verb. Well used, *caveat* doesn't need the Marquis of Argyle as authority. And the Oxford English Dictionary, *contra* Quinn, does not say this use is obsolete. "Obs." appears after the subsequent definition, "to serve with a caveat," in the sense of a specific type of legal notice. Quinn's linguistic analysis of *caveat* as a verb would not pass muster in my locker room, either. "It is of course a verb in Latin. . . ." Sure, but it is the third-person imperative form of the verb and it means "Let him beware," just as *stet* means "Let it stand." The Argyle-Haig usage doesn't make an intransitive verb transitive, which would have it mean "I warn that statement to beware." It is shorthand for "Where that statement appears in the text, I would write 'caveat' in the margin as a warning to the reader."

But Quinn is not really interested in *caveat*. His argument is that because *Mother Jones* was wrong to criticize Haig's "I caveat that," the magazine was wrong to say, "Any man who babbles this way is clearly out of control on some level. . . ." Well, that's a fine nit you picked, Quinn, but just go back over Haig's Congressional testimony and his statement after Reagan was shot.

Quinn proceeds to Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige, missing the point completely and, one must believe, deliberately. The words *caveated* by Baldrige may all be legitimate. . . . But the examples Quinn cites are words that bureaucrats have been abusing to make their sentences longer, more complex, less precise, more pompous than necessary. Programming word processors to stop and flash DON'T USE THAT WORD! won't keep us out of war or save the economy, but it is a reasonably crafty way to try to improve the writing in government offices.

Quinn's disingenuous treatment of his first three topics set my teeth on edge, but it hardly prepared me for this reminder to "leftists": "Brzezinski never used *caveat* as a verb. Does that make him better than Haig? Woodrow Wilson . . . secretly invaded the Soviet Union after World War I, and [Adlai] Stevenson lied shamelessly in the United Nations about America's invasion of Cuba." Now which leftists championed Brzezinski? Which critics of Haig's addled brain and thick tongue called for Brzezinski's recall? Which leftists idolized Wilson? How can his Siberian expedition, ill-advised as it probably was and ill-fated as it certainly was, be called simply a secret invasion of the Soviet Union, when it was a violently unsettled question at the time whether far eastern Siberia (and a large number of other parts of the Czar's empire) wanted to or would become part of the Soviet Union? And whether or not Stevenson spoke in an "academic dialect" and whether or not he was ever a darling of the leftists (how far left of what?), his lying in the United Nations during the Bay of Pigs fiasco was anything but shameless. The Kennedys and their buddies lied to him, used him, humiliated him, shamed him. He took it lying down, but he certainly did not lie shamelessly.

Quinn bottoms out with a quotation from Thorstein Veblen's *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, winding up with "That's telling the Commerce Department and *Mother Jones*, Thorstein." Quinn can't read Veblen any better than he can read the O.E.D. The quotation quite straightforwardly refutes most of the arguments Quinn has just hung on us. What Veblen calls typical of the speech of those who wish to be taken as having "leisure-class antecedents" and to give "presumptive evidence of several successive lives spent in other than vulgarly useful occupations" is the use of "obsolescent idiom" and "punctilious use of ancient and accredited locutions."

What better examples than *caveat* as a verb, even according to Quinn's own slightly screwed-up analysis, and the Baldrige index of forbidden words? Quinn's quotation from Veblen ends with "it is notorious that the ideas of today are effectively expressed in the slang of today." Is Quinn trying to persuade us that *caveat*, *subsequent to*, *maximize* and *effectuate* are the slang of today?

Caveat that!

Andrew E. Norman

QUINN REPLIES

Philadelphia

Andrew Norman is the kind of reader every writer dreams about. He is so disturbed by an article that he attacks it in painstaking detail. And he is always wrong.

Simple matters of fact first. The Oxford English Dictionary entry for *caveat* begins:

† 1. *trans.* a. to enter a caveat or caution against. b. to serve with a caveat. *Obs.* 1661 Marquis of Argyle . . . I would caveat this.

Norman thinks that *obs.* refers only to part b of the above definition. To preclude this kind of confusion, the O.E.D. puts a cross before all obsolete entries (see above). Both a and b are obsolete; there is no possibility of argument about this. Also, a transitive verb is one that takes an object. Both the Marquis and Alexander Haig use *caveat* transitively; the O.E.D. cites the Marquis as an example of transitive use (see above). Another example of transitive use is the last sentence of Norman's own letter. *Stet*, I mention in passing, is, like *caveat*, an English verb (see the O.E.D. and Webster's Third), used in all persons. Thus: I stet my original statement. Norman must delete all that nonsense about one sentence being "shorthand" for another.

Matters of reading and comprehension: The argument of my article was that there is little political distinction between Haig and many other right-wing politicians associated with foreign policy. Yet Haig, because he is a colorful and inventive user of language, is attacked as if his language were simultaneously a symptom and a cause of American imperialism. Norman, tumbling word over word in an attempt to attack everything in the article, actually illustrates my point. He treats Haig with special bitterness because he is "thick-tongued" (read non-U in speech)—and he actually excuses both Stevenson and Wilson. The defense of the Wilson "expedition," I cannot help but add, sounds remarkably like Nixon's defense of his Cambodian "excursion."

The real point of Norman's letter is that as a leftist, he agrees with the Secretary of Commerce—all word processors should have built-in censorship devices that prohibit those bad, evasive and imprecise words of our language. This is not only dictatorial and antihuman, it is inane. No word is in itself bad or lying or evasive—you can tell the truth, and lie, in all human languages and in all prose styles. That is Veblen's point. If Norman will read Chapter 14 of *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, he will find that Veblen attacks standard English, and even the "pointless classicism" of standard spelling. For Veblen, schools help maintain our ruling class by insisting on old-fashioned English—the bland-branded and thin-tongued stuff Stevenson and Wilson wrote. Attacking Haig merely for his new (and ornate) language is essentially helping to maintain our class system. My article asked that defenders of standard school-taught English consider the political implications of that defense. I can only add that Norman, whether it is a dictionary or *The Nation*, should try real hard to pay better attention when he is reading.

Jim Quinn

CONTENTS.

Volume 234, Number 5

LETTERS

130

EDITORIALS

- 129 State of Disunion
131 False Progress
132 To Tell the Truth
132 Science for Sale?

ARTICLES

- 129 M.I.T.-Whitehead Merger:
The Selling of the University *David F. Noble*
134 The Last Auto Company:
Will General Motors
Inherit the Earth? *Jamie Kitman*

- 137 Stealing the Right's Thunder: Some
Anticrime Proposals for Progressives *Bertram Gross*
141 Recapturing the "Family Issue" *Michael Lerner*

BOOKS & THE ARTS

- 149 Goldberger: The Skyscraper *Michael Sorkin*
150 Yehoshua: Between Right and Right—
Israel: Problem or Solution? *Lesley Hazleton*
152 Plante: The Country
Wolff: In the Garden of the North
American Martyrs *Brina Caplan*
155 Theater *Richard Gilman*
156 Films *Robert Hatch*

Drawings by Isadore Seltzer

Editor, Victor Navasky

Publisher, Hamilton Fish III

Executive Editor, Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editor*, Kai Bird; *Assistant Editor*, Amy Wilentz (on leave); *Visiting Editor*, John S. Rosenberg; *Literary Editor*, Elizabeth Pochocka; *Assistant Literary Editor*, Elena Brunet; *Poetry Editor*, Grace Schulman; *Copy Editor*, Janet Gold; *Assistant Copy Editors*, Barbara Dudley Davis, Judith Long; *Editorial Assistant*, Eric Etheridge; *Editorial Aide*, David Corn; *Editorial Secretary*, Ola Lyon; *Interns*, Susan Austin, Greg Baum, Virginia Cannon, Mark Clifford, John Eastburn, Peter Howell, Karl Johnson, Peter Meyer, Hugo Moreno, Fran Schneur, Bonnie Tenneriello.

Departments: *Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Films*, Robert Hatch; *Music*, David Hamilton; *White House Correspondent*, Robert Sherrill. *Correspondents*: *Latin America*, Penny Lernoux; *London*, Raymond Williams; *Paris*, Claude Bourdet; *Columnists and Regular Contributors*: Calvin Trillin (*Uncivil Liberties*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*), Elizabeth Farnsworth & Stephen Talbot (*Dispatches*). *Contributing Editors*, Blair Clark, Christopher Hitchens, Gore Vidal. *Editorial Board*: James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Robert Lekachman, Sidney Morgenbesser, Aryeh Neier, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

Advertising Manager, Carole Kraemer; *Business Manager*, Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper*, Gertrude Silverston; *Art/Production Manager*, Jane Sharples; *Assistant to Publisher*, Laurie Lipper; *Circulation Manager*, Stephen King; *Classified*, Deborah Kriger; *Receptionist*, Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk*, John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary*, Shirley Sulat; *Nation Associates*, Claudine Bacher; *Nation News Service*, Jeff Sorensen; *Publishing Consultant*, Jack Berkowitz; *Circulation Consultant*, Deborah Begel.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1982 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel.: 212-242-8400. *Subscription Mail Address*: Nation Subscription Service, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

Regular Subscription Price: One year, \$30; two years, \$50; six months, \$15. Add \$5 per year postage for Canada and Mexico; \$7 other foreign. All foreign subscriptions must be paid in equivalent U.S. funds. **Please allow 5-7 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries should be sent to: The Nation, Subscription Services, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305.

EDITORIALS.

False Progress

Last week, President Reagan certified to Congress that El Salvador had made sufficient progress on human rights to qualify for continued U.S. aid. The certification process was mandated by the foreign aid bill that the President signed on December 29. If the President had not made this determination, military assistance and sales to El Salvador would have ceased and all U.S. military personnel would have been withdrawn.

Accompanying the certification, the President was required to present evidence that "fully and completely" explained his action. We must express our skepticism. How can the President honestly certify to Congress—as the law requires—that the government of El Salvador "is making a concerted and significant effort to comply with internationally recognized human rights"? A comprehensive 273-page report prepared by the American Civil Liberties

Union and the Americas Watch Committee documents that the Salvadoran government is responsible for systematic acts of murder and torture; for arbitrary arrests; for repression directed against the Catholic Church and against peasant, union and opposition leaders, and for the persecution of anyone who speaks out against repression. The report points to an increase in human-rights abuses under the current "reform" military junta; many of the abuses were ordained by the junta's own decrees. (According to the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador, 16,376 persons were killed by government security forces in 1981.)

We wonder how the President can certify to Congress—as the law requires—that the government of El Salvador "is achieving substantial control over all elements of its own armed forces, so as to bring an end to the indiscriminate torture and murder of Salvadoran citizens by these forces." The government of El Salvador is either fully in control of its armed forces or it is not. If it is in control, then it is directly responsible for the torture and the murders described

in the A.C.L.U.-Americas Watch report. If it is not in control, it cannot be said to be "achieving" it.

We wonder how the President can certify to Congress—that the law requires—that the government of El Salvador "is making continued progress in implementing essential economic and political reforms, including the land reform program." According to *The Washington Post* of January 25, the Unión Comunal Salvadoreña, the peasant organization designated by the governments of El Salvador and the United States to play a key role in the land reform program, reported in December that the program was collapsing because of state-sponsored terrorism. The organization says that at least ninety officials of peasant groups were murdered by government forces in 1981. Many farmers who received land have been killed as well.

We wonder how the President can certify to Congress—that the law requires—that the government of El Salvador "has made good faith efforts both to investigate the murders of six United States citizens in El Salvador in December 1980 and January 1981 and to bring to justice those responsible for those murders." The Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights has documented the junta's failure to investigate the murders of the four Catholic women or bring to justice those responsible for them. As for the murders of the two employees of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s American Institute for Free Labor Development, one of the two Salvadoran businessmen arrested in connection with the murders has been released, and no one seriously expects that anyone responsible will be punished for these murders.

Despite all this evidence, the President has made his pre-ordained findings. In El Salvador, of course, the killing goes on as before. Only now, according to the President of the United States, it is Progress.

To Tell the Truth

Combating what it perceives as a wave of Stockmanitis, the Administration has cracked down on employees who bear tales to the press. The specific leak that unleashed Deputy Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci's Pentagon polygraphs occurred following a secret meeting of the Defense Resources Board on January 7. According to the snitch, those present took up the question of whether the \$1.5 trillion in defense spending the President wants would be enough, and decided that \$750 billion or so more would be needed. Obviously, the Administration doesn't want the news that it is contemplating such a massive increase to reach the truly needy, Democrats and other malcontents, so the boom was lowered, with ex-C.I.A. man Carlucci cast as enforcer. Officials trooped into the Pentagon sweatbox like good soldiers. "It was a command performance," an Administration official told *The New York Times*. "There was nothing voluntary about it. If you didn't do it, they presumed you were guilty."

Instead of asking why the Administration is even consid-

ering such a staggering increase in defense spending, the press was understandably mesmerized by the lie-detector story. At his January 19 press conference, the President was repeatedly questioned about the new policy on leaks. "What we're doing is simply abiding by the existing law," he explained. Besides, he said, people were taking the lie-detector test "voluntarily."

Actually, there is no such "existing law," and the people who took the polygraph exams were volunteers insofar as they wanted to keep their jobs. Under current law, a newspaper that printed a story based on leaked information could not be prosecuted for espionage, and it is definitely in the public interest that such stories be printed. The Administration's determination to prevent embarrassing leaks (as opposed to self-serving ones) is another ominous step in its march toward a government that is accountable to no one.

If the President wants to counteract the bad publicity the lie-detector test stirred up, he should volunteer to take one himself. In view of all the, uh, misstatements he made at his last press conference, this could even be a public service. For example, when Reagan said that unemployment was "a continuation of an increase that got underway in the last several months of 1980" and that the unemployment rate "averaged 7.4 percent in all of 1980," the needle would have wobbled all over the place. (For the record, in the last six months of 1980, the unemployment rate went down from 7.6 percent to 7.4 percent; the average for the year was 7.1 percent.) His assertions that the Internal Revenue Service's policy of denying tax exemptions to segregated schools "had no basis in law"; that the twenty-four pages of want ads in *The Washington Post* proved that there were plenty of jobs available for qualified people; that his Administration is "going to do everything we can" to "make more people qualified" for such jobs, and that the United States is talking arms reductions "with the enemy, potential enemy . . . right now" might have produced similar results, as would his statements about enforcing "the law" on leaks and employees taking polygraphs "voluntarily."

There is to be sure a technical problem: a subject who sincerely believes in the truth of what he is saying, however false it may be in fact, would fool the polygraph. This presents us with a rather unsavory conundrum: do we have a President who is a liar—or one who is dangerously ignorant?

Science for Sale?

There is a growing awareness among many Americans that their jobs have become pawns in the hands of multinational corporations. To corporate strategists, the United States is merely another market for goods, a source of labor and raw materials, and a possible site for investment—if the "climate" is right. As a result, workers whose jobs are jeopardized by the international movement of capital feel powerless against remote forces. What they need is a handle.

Such a handle does exist. It is a key American resource

highly coveted by the multinationals. This resource is not to be found in the ground; it is to be found in the brains of the nation's scientists and in its laboratories and research institutes. It is what the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development has called "intellectual capital," the scientific knowledge upon which the burgeoning high-technology industries—microelectronics, computers, data processing, biotechnology—are based. Nowhere else in the world is this knowledge available to the degree that it is in the United States.

The multinational companies have already recognized that science is a vital commodity. As *The Wall Street Journal* recently observed, "Increasingly, companies are looking at their supply of technology much as oil companies look at their reserves. Profits can be increased in the short run by draining earlier discoveries but over time more discoveries are needed to keep up the supply." And so, as David Noble reports in this week's cover story, multinational corporations are taking steps to insure their continuing and privileged access to the intellectual wellheads—the universities—and their control over future technological gushers. They do this by entering into joint research agreements with universities under which they share on-campus facilities staffed in whole or in part by faculty members.

These arrangements—most recently at the Whitehead Institute at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology—do not take the public interest into account. As a high-level administrator at M.I.T. said recently, "M.I.T. is a privately controlled, privately owned, privately managed institution operating in the public interest." The assumption is that what is good for the university and what is good for business will be good for America.

But, as Noble stresses, the universities' resources were created largely at taxpayers' expense and should not be sold to the highest corporate bidder. The people whose taxes helped build these science departments have no assurance that they will share in the prosperity that university-based research creates for the corporations. When the same M.I.T. administrator was asked about the heavy public support his institution has received, he replied, "Anyone who believes that support equals ownership, or that support equals proprietary entitlement ought to have recourse to the library." In other words, what a university does with its intellectual property is nobody else's business.

The questions Noble raises in his article are the central ones: Who should control scientific knowledge? How can the public's interest in it be asserted? As a first step, the public should be made aware that scientific knowledge is not a university's to give away—or sell—to private interests. The example of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries is apropos. They used their oil as a bargaining chip, extracting concessions from the multinationals that wanted it. States and communities should claim their stake in the scientific resource and drive similar hard bargains with the companies seeking access to it.

The issue of effecting a measure of public control over publicly funded research was first raised in the 1940s, but the universities successfully pleaded academic freedom and

unfettered scientific inquiry. Now that debate must be revived, and we offer Noble's article as an opening salvo in it.

PORTENTOUS 'EVENT'

Although the accident at the Robert E. Ginna nuclear reactor near Rochester, New York, on January 25 was perhaps the most serious mishap to strike the nuclear industry since Three Mile Island, it was only the first of more than 4,000 "events"—the Nuclear Regulatory Commission's term for abnormal occurrences that could endanger public health and safety—that are expected to take place this year. There were 3,804 nuclear events in 1980, according to a Critical Mass Energy Project report based on N.R.C. figures, and Jack Heltemes of the N.R.C.'s Office of Analysis and Evaluation of Operational Data said that more than 4,000 mishaps occurred in 1981.

Probably, few of the accidents predicted for this year will be as dangerous as the one at Ginna, which was triggered by a burst tube. But one thing is certain: the number of such accidents will rise because of steadily worsening corrosion in the tubing of those reactors that use steam generators. There are forty-nine such reactors, and the N.R.C. has discovered rust in the tubes of seventeen of them; seventeen other reactors have also experienced problems with corroding tubes. The tubes carry hot radioactive water from the reactor core, and when they rupture, a bubble of steam sometimes forms. (It was the creation of such a bubble of steam that set off the problems at Three Mile Island in 1979.) At Ginna, a valve failed after the tube burst, making it necessary to use a back-up valve to vent the steam. If this emergency measure had not worked, the reactor core might have been exposed and overheated.

Accidents caused by faulty tubes are nothing new. On September 24, 1981, a leak in the tubing of the steam generator at the Indian Point 3 reactor in New York caused 246 gallons of contaminated water to escape into the Hudson River. Several other plants have experienced similar accidents, which are due to a flaw in the design of pressurized water reactors. As nuclear plants grow older, tube failures will become more common, causing protracted and expensive shut-downs.

Last December, Nunzio Palladino, the chairman of the N.R.C., remarked that "a number of plants have come to my attention which show a surprising lack of professionalism in the construction and preparation for operation of nuclear facilities." But more than just a lack of professionalism was involved in the Ginna accident; it represented a breakdown in technology. Put simply, the design doesn't work. And if that isn't clear by now, we can only hope that it does not take another, worse Ginna to make it so.

ARTICLES.

■ THE LAST AUTO COMPANY

Will General Motors Inherit The Earth?

JAMIE KITMAN

It came as no surprise when General Motors announced in December that its 470,000 hourly and salaried employees would be requested to "reduce or eliminate [their] unrealistic expectations about economic gains" in the upcoming contract negotiations. What sets this latest sally apart from previous campaigns to dampen wage demands is G.M.'s argument that its survival is at stake.

The case G.M. has been making to its workers has clearly not been accepted by the business community, even though the company's stock has fallen in recent months. But it has been accepted by the United Automobile Workers, which has agreed in principle to wage and benefit concessions. And, perhaps most alarming, G.M.'s argument meshes neatly with the Reagan Administration's rescue program for the auto companies, which is also predicated on a fallacy: that the industry has been imperiled by excessive labor costs and regulations. It is an appealing argument for G.M. and for an Administration hellbent on ridding the auto makers of any legal obligation to build clean, safe cars, especially now, as more than 290,000 unemployed auto workers stand by to lend it urgency.

But the White House is wrong. The industry isn't dying; it is changing, just as it changed in the 1920s, in the 1930s and in the 1950s. In the industry's past crises, hundreds of car makers failed. The main cause of failure then was lack of money, as it is now. Some companies simply didn't have sufficient cash reserves to weather hard times. The richest firms could survive cyclical downturns in the economy, while their poorer relations closed their doors. The largest firms could bounce back from serious and repeated errors in marketing and design; the smallest ones folded.

Today, however, there are no longer hundreds of car makers. There are just three, if we disregard American Motors, in which Renault now owns a major interest, and the stakes are much higher—almost total dominance. The likely winner in the industry's last battle will be General Motors, the nation's largest car maker. (The losers will be the laid-off auto workers, whose redundancy will become permanent.) G.M.'s domination of the market for U.S.-made cars and, in a real sense, the nation's transporta-

tion future has been long in coming, but the current economic crisis and Ronald Reagan's deregulation policies will hasten its arrival.

Americans have always had difficulty accepting the simple truth that, given time and the right set of circumstances, large companies with ample cash reserves and the greater flexibility these allow will drive smaller companies out of business. The history of the American automobile industry is a litany of such occurrences. Consider a story that appeared in *The Wall Street Journal* on January 29, 1952, about the Packard company, then in deep financial trouble:

Packard Motor Car Co. has suffered from a few wrong guesses. Long noted as a class car, the Packard was brought out in a medium price line in 1939 . . . and Cadillac was soon outrunning it in the sales race. Packard also had trouble getting out a shapely postwar model. Its 1948 line has been described as a "pregnant elephant." Not till August 1950, after spending \$20 million, did Packard come out in its present style, which is faring better.

As it turned out, faring better was not good enough. Within a year of *The Journal's* story, Packard was bought out by the Studebaker Corporation, and it died in that company's arms in 1958. Styling and marketing were the problems that caught *The Journal's* eye—the cars were simply too ugly and too cheap. But the real ailment was a lack of money. Packard spent only \$20 million to produce and market its 1950 line. In comparison, the larger Chrysler Corporation invested \$90 million in its first postwar model, including \$28 million for retooling a single engine plant. The even larger Ford Motor Company spent \$130 million on retooling for its 1952 cars. That money bought more efficient factories, which turned out better quality, lower-priced cars.

Several other auto makers disappeared in the 1950s and 1960s, dissolved or absorbed by larger competitors. Kaiser, Willys Overland, DeSoto, Hudson, Nash, Crosley and Studebaker, all companies of honorable lineage, were done in by their outmoded plants and meager assets. When the last Studebaker was driven out of the company's decrepit plant in South Bend, Indiana, in 1963, *Time* could take a philosophical view of the firm's demise, even though it was one of only five major auto manufacturers left in the country. *Time* noted that 1,850 U.S. auto manufacturers had failed throughout the industry's history. Even so, the one-column obituary for Studebaker, appearing in the December 20 issue, showed that *Time* still could not get the story straight. "The company's dealer organization was too small, haphazard and inefficient," *Time* explained. "South Bend was too remote from Detroit to enable the company to move quickly with all the industry's new trends."

It is easy to ridicule the assertion that Studebaker, located fewer than 350 miles from Detroit, was too far removed from the automotive mainstream; certainly, remoteness from the Motor City was never a handicap to Toyota or Datsun. At least *Time* did not say that Studebaker's product was inferior. To the end, the company made many technological and safety innovations in its cars. But the true cause

Jamie Kitman writes frequently about the automobile industry.

of Studebaker's death could be discovered in its ledgers. In 1960, the company announced that it did not have the \$25 million it needed to introduce a new model line. That same year, General Motors' profits for the second quarter alone were in excess of \$287 million. Studebaker lost \$23 million between 1960 and 1962. This, and a loss of \$16.9 million in 1963, was enough to drive it out of the car-building business in the United States. (The company continued to build cars—unprofitably—at its Canadian plant until 1965.)

Similarly, when Chrysler careened into the headlines in 1979 with its initial request for Federal help in the form of loan guarantees, observers attributed its infirmities to everything except lack of money. Acknowledging Chrysler's "inherent disadvantage in being less than half the size of Ford . . . and about a fourth the size of General Motors," *The New York Times* blamed the company's difficulties on "a remarkable string of bad timing and worse luck." But a more important factor, *The Times* said, was "the severe damage done by grandiose expansion plans that fizzled and by repeated bursts of optimism alternating with lingering bouts of pessimism. . . . Such corporate schizophrenia eventually diluted employee enthusiasm, sapped employee morale and obscured fundamental management problems."

To be sure, Chrysler was mismanaged, unlucky and unhappy. At least one of the firm's management problems was apparent during the 1973-74 energy crisis, when board chairman Lynn Townsend went about pledging to all who would listen his firm's undying commitment to full-sized, gas-eating land barges. (Townsend earned more than \$638,000 in 1972, a lofty sum and an inappropriate one for a manager who was preparing his outfit for the junkyard.)

But it is worth remembering that Townsend's counterparts at Ford and G.M. suffered similar lapses in judgment. They have yet to live down the ill will generated by their Chevrolet Vega and Ford Pinto models, arguably two of the worst small cars ever produced. With the exception of the Vega (which blew engines and rusted faster than any car built before or since) and the Pinto (which burst into flames when struck from behind), Ford and G.M. continued to make the same big cars that Chrysler did. At G.M.'s plant in Lordstown, Ohio, where the Vega was made, demoralized workers sent tens of thousands of defective cars out into the world, bringing the industry's morale problems to national attention. Not until well into the 1970s did Ford and G.M. begin to tackle the problems of antiquated physical plants and management-heavy payrolls.

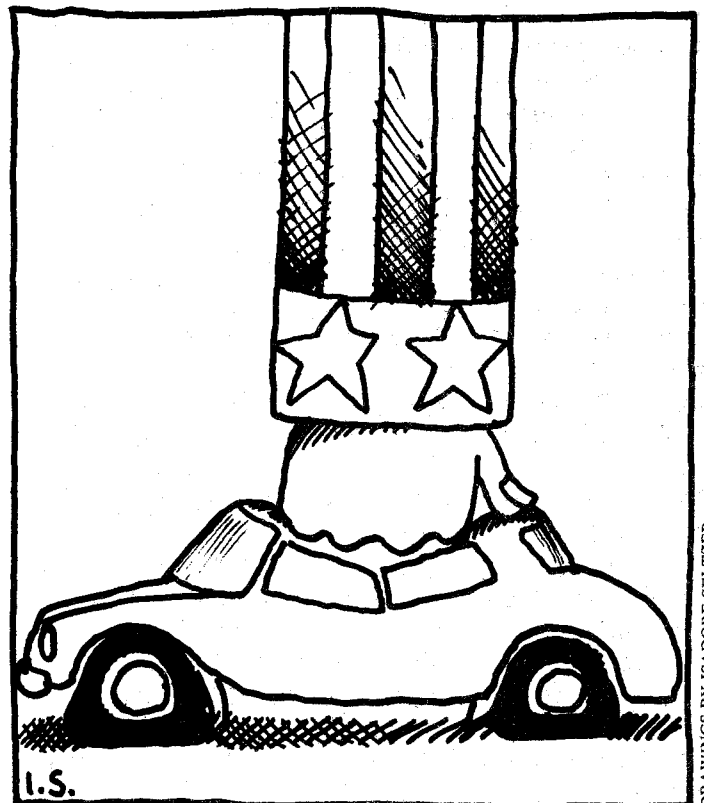
Chrysler's problems were many, but they were not endemic. Inefficiency and mismanagement plagued the entire industry, though they did not interfere with any company's profitability. When times were good, Chrysler, like the other auto companies, siphoned off the profits and used them for dividends, wheeling and dealing in faraway lands and paying enormous salaries to top executives. It avoided investing in plants and equipment whenever possible. Then the gasoline crisis struck, and the industry was presented with the bill for its past profligacy. G.M. is paying.

The Japanese already have. But Chrysler came up short.

Nowadays, it isn't enough for an auto company to be rich. It has to be really rich. Chrysler, with assets of \$6.7 billion, isn't. General Motors, on the other hand, has assets in excess of \$35 billion, which is rich enough. Its almost unprecedented dip into the red in 1980 was mercifully brief. A loss of \$468 million in the third quarter of 1981 might be cause for alarm, but it was mitigated by profits of \$190 million in the first quarter and a whopping \$514 million in the second—impressive figures, coming as they did as the industry sank into its worst sales slump in twenty years. Despite a horrendous fourth quarter for the auto industry as a whole, most analysts expect G.M. to report a profit for the year. And G.M., alone among the U.S. car makers, will pay dividends to its shareholders for the first quarter of 1982.

Moreover, G.M. still dominates the U.S. market. Not so long ago, the company deliberately held its share of the market for U.S.-made cars to 60 percent, fearing that anything greater than that would invite an antitrust suit. More recently, G.M. has let its portion creep higher, and has, on occasion, pushed 70 percent.

Despite G.M.'s public gloom and the dismal sales picture in the last half of 1981, its chairman, Roger B. Smith, told *The Wall Street Journal* recently that the company remains committed to a \$40 billion capital spending plan through 1984—which is roughly five times larger than Ford's and ten times larger than Chrysler's. Along with introducing cars that get sixty miles per gallon, cars that have three-cylinder engines and cars that run on battery power, this program will increase automation (lowering labor costs, which the industry considers its heaviest cross) and push profitability to an all-time high.



This program, along with its excellent cash position, makes it likely that G.M. will be the only U.S. car maker to prosper in the lean world market that lies ahead. With new models that are better built and cheaper to run than in the past, G.M. should increase its share of the U.S. market. And it will compete aggressively overseas, particularly in the growth markets of the Third World.

Indeed, European and Japanese car makers fear an "American invasion." In their darkest visions, managers at West Germany's Volkswagenwerk A.G. and Japan's Toyota conjure up a rejuvenated, menacing General Motors. It isn't so much an invasion of their home turf that worries them, since G.M. already has a significant stake in both countries. What they fear is the day when G.M. brings its full might to bear in the Third World. That fight, they say, will be the big one.

Lending credence to these fears of a Yankee onslaught are several recent actions of the Reagan Administration. Taking office at the industry's self-proclaimed darkest hour, the President has set about dismantling the safety and environmental legislation that had made the manufacturers and the government at least nominal adversaries. Among the highlights of the Reagan program:

§ Proposed changes in the Clean Air Act, suggested by Environmental Protection Agency administrator Anne Gorsuch, under which automobiles built in the future would be allowed to emit 100 percent more nitrogen oxides than cars built today.

§ The return of many of the Federal government's regulatory functions to the more complaisant state legislatures, a notion so bold that even Detroit's lobbyists abandoned it years ago.

§ Executive repeal or easing of thirty-four auto regulations and pending regulations, announced last April as a kind of initial good-will gesture and now under way.

§ The voluntary export restraint agreement, which the Administration extracted from the Japanese in May 1981 at the auto makers' urging.

§ Termination of the Federal Trade Commission's five-year antitrust investigation of the auto industry.

What of Ford and Chrysler? Rather than putting a brake on their decline, the White House seems intent on accelerating G.M.'s rise. The goal is a one-car-company country. In the Administration's vision, a new, stronger, international G.M. would take on the great car companies of the world, saving American jobs and prestige. The Administration has argued that concentration and deregulation are necessary to enable American companies to compete internationally. The need for an American auto heavyweight that is a world contender will be cited to justify relaxing regulations and suspending antitrust laws.

While there is nothing inherently wrong with a very large auto company, there is, if history offers any clue, much to be feared from a desmogged and supercharged General Motors, stripped for a global race. The lethal Corvair, G.M.'s role as a chief supplier of the South African Army and its threat to move elsewhere unless it was allowed to build a new plant in the middle of Detroit's Poletown all bear witness to a callous streak at G.M. that is sixteen lanes wide.

In view of G.M.'s past, the question of how a larger version will be restrained from trampling on the public welfare becomes paramount. G.M. is responsible for almost three out of every four cars, four out of every five buses and every locomotive built in the country. As the world's largest vehicle maker, it has extensive holdings in dozens of countries. And it has labored long and hard to fuse its various divisions into a unified structure.

Increased worker participation in decision making and the appointment of consumer representatives to the G.M. board would go a long way toward curbing the company's antisocial impulses. A portion of G.M.'s billions could be channeled into pollution and safety research for its vehicles as well as its plants. (Highly profitable Renault, which is government owned, is a safety pioneer.) Without jeopardizing earnings, funds could be used to develop mass-transit alternatives to private automobiles and to build better trains and trolleys than are now being turned out in the United States.

Worker and consumer representatives on the G.M. board would bring public pressure to bear and seek to hold the corporation accountable for its actions, protect employees and motorists and insure that G.M.'s involvement in the Third World is supportive, rather than exploitative. In all these areas, G.M. can afford errors in judgment and intent. We can't. The General's vaunted standard of excellence will only become reality when workers and consumers help set it. □

Do The Readers of The Nation Know There's a Travel Agency Serving Their Special Interests?

Well, There Is . . .

Special Tours for Special People, Inc.

Do you want to know *exactly* what's going on in China? Southeast Africa? The Middle East, Eastern Europe? Then you ought to join a "special tour." They are led by the most qualified tour leaders, concentrate on the social dynamics of developing countries, and feature meetings with local leaders and American friends. Here are some of our 1982 offerings—write for brochures.

UNDERSTANDING . . .

- **CHINA**—Is it really embarked "on the capitalist road?" Go see. 24 tours, April through October. From \$2,595
- **S. E. AFRICA**—June 25 to Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe; July 31 to Zimbabwe/Mozambique—17 days. \$3,375
- **THE MIDDLE EAST**—To Syria, Jordan, Israel & Egypt—June 25 & July 23, 3 weeks. \$2,975
- **E. EUROPE**—To Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, 3 weeks, Apr. 28 & June 30. \$2,395

Also Japan, India/Sri Lanka, Nicaragua, S.E. Asia

SPECIAL TOURS FOR SPECIAL PEOPLE, INC.

250 West 57th Street
New York, N.Y. 10019

(212) 586-6577

■ STEALING THE RIGHT'S THUNDER

Some Anticrime Proposals for Progressives

BERTRAM GROSS

On crime, more than on most matters, the left seems bereft of ideas.

Having won the 1980 election by snatching the jobs and inflation issues from the Democrats, the Reagan forces have seized the initiative again, this time on crime and drug addiction. They urge a simple remedy: "Police 'em. Jail 'em. Kill 'em." Police and intelligence officers would be given a green light for unconstitutional searches and seizures (including breaking and entry) under "reforms" of the exclusionary rule, which restricts the use of illegally seized evidence in court. The armed forces, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Central Intelligence Agency would cooperate with state and local police in attacking the supply side of the narcotics business. The prison population—already the world's third largest, behind only the Soviet Union's and South Africa's—would be expanded through preventive detention, denial of bail and parole, longer sentences and a huge prison-building program that would be financed by state bond issues; it would be contracted through the increased use of capital punishment.

In his first major address on crime, delivered before the International Association of Police Chiefs in New Orleans last fall, President Reagan wrapped these proposals, plus some lesser details, in a sweeping philosophical attack on "the social thinkers of the 1950s and 1960s who discussed crime only in the context of disadvantaged childhoods and poverty-stricken neighborhoods" and "thought that massive government spending could wipe away our social ills." He ended his speech on an upbeat note, stressing the "deep moral values" that "can hold back the jungle and restrain the darker impulses of human nature."

Reagan has a point. Liberals and radicals have failed to offer politically persuasive programs to combat violent crime. Mugging victims take little comfort from predictions that things will be better on that lovely day when the Hawkins-Humphrey Full Employment Act is implemented, the Kemp-Garcia Urban Jobs and Enterprise Zone bill becomes law or the Reagan Administration fades away.

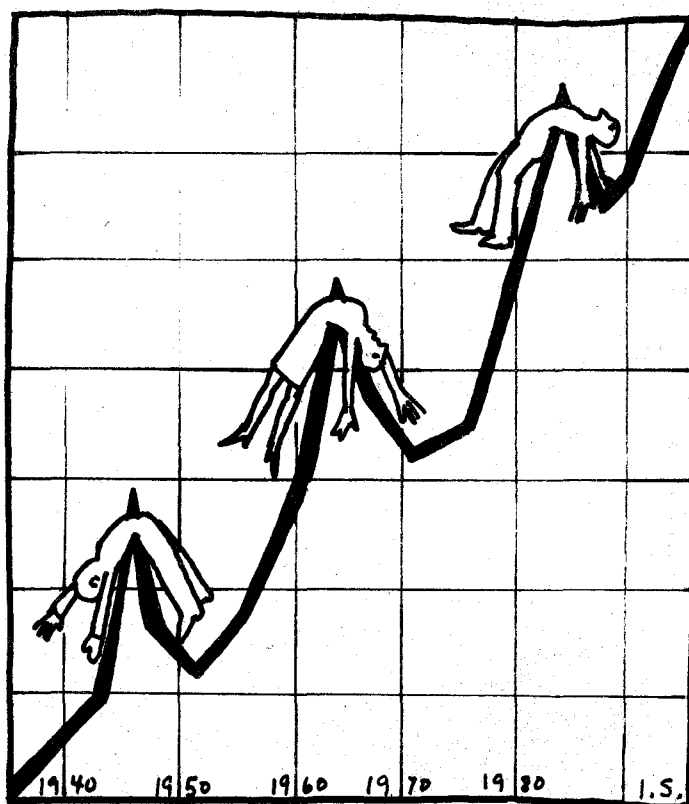
Nor are they heartened by socialists like Richard Quinney, who argues that "the only real solution to crime is to be found in the class struggle . . . against capitalism." Such pronouncements systematically ignore the fact that crime is

a problem in all self-styled socialist countries and that alienation and lawless behavior are produced not only by bureaucratic socialism but by systems in transition to the more democratic kind. Nor do the Marxists tell us how an anticrime program might contribute to the achievement of socialism.

Radicals, progressives and liberals alike fear that strong anticrime measures "might make the subject more salient . . . intensify anxiety and indirectly contribute to demands for more repressive enforcement," as David F. Greenburg wrote in a collection of essays he edited entitled *Crime and Capitalism*. They ignore crimes against the person on the streets, in homes and in schools, and focus on the evils of police brutality, gangsterism (improperly called "organized crime" in the press) and the crimes instigated or condoned by corporate executives.

To be sure, civil libertarians have rightly resisted repressive measures wrapped in the anticrime banner. They have defended the rights of accused people, prisoners and victims in the belief that the Administration's "Police 'em. Jail 'em. Kill 'em." formula will only accelerate the trend toward corporate authoritarianism.

Like Reaganomics, the Reagan crime program won't work. The evidence and the arguments against it are familiar by now, but they still hold. The vast majority of crimes are never reported to the police, so only a small proportion of lawbreakers are arrested. And an even tinier percentage of those who get caught are brought to trial, convicted and imprisoned. The main thing that so-called "deterrence by policing" really does is to give police officers, who are overburdened with duties unrelated to crime, the feeling that they are failures as "crime fighters." As for preventive detention, John Shattuck and



Bertram Gross, Distinguished Professor in the department of urban affairs at Hunter College, was involved in the drafting of the full employment acts of 1946 and 1978.

Join
Jack Lemmon & Sissy Spacek
 for the New York Premiere of
 the Universal Film

MISSING

Costa-Gavras' First American Film

FEBRUARY 11, 1982.

Tickets, which include
 the film at the BEEKMAN theatre,
 and then supper at MAGIQUE,
 will benefit the

Center for Constitutional Rights.

Tickets are \$45 each.

For more information, call 674-3303.



David Landau of the American Civil Liberties Union have documented that "only 1.9 percent of those released before trial are later convicted of and imprisoned for serious crimes committed during the release period." As they point out, even if all defendants were detained while awaiting trial, no substantial reduction in the overall rate of serious crime would result.

Countless studies have shown that increasing the prison population does not reduce crime. Rather, the prison system turns petty thieves into master criminals. Finally, "the reality of capital punishment," according to the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (N.C.C.D.) "is that it is applied only to the sins of the poor and powerless." A study of capital punishment in New York State from 1907 to 1963 demonstrated that executions have "consistently been succeeded by a rise in homicides—by people seeking attention, directing suicidal motives outward, or . . . stimulated to act by the violent atmosphere surrounding an execution."

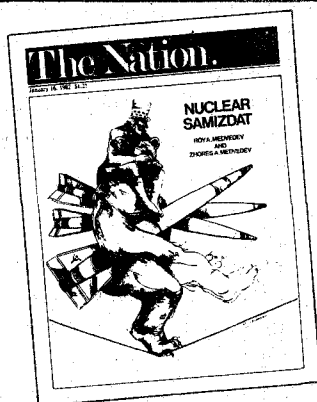
What is needed, of course, is an anticrime program that incorporates these liberal bromides but goes beyond them. As a beginning, let me describe three progressive initiatives that embody fresh approaches: community protection, help for victims and a real full-employment movement. If more vigorously pursued, these initiatives could help squeeze the injustice, the inefficiency and the corruption out of the present police-court-prison-parole system and orient it toward genuine crime prevention.

Community Action

Any serious anticrime effort must take cognizance of the experiences of the various community programs throughout the country that have been set up to deal with violent and non-violent crime. In West Philadelphia, for example, the Citizens' Local Alliance for a Safer Philadelphia (CLASP) has organized block associations that sponsor "neighborhood walks" at night to overcome fear of crime. CLASP reports that on the blocks that have been organized, crime has declined sharply and "participants have gradually lost their fear of the streets." Two other community programs that progressives could learn from are the House of Umoja (Swahili for "unity") in Philadelphia, a self-help project involving street gangs and ex-prisoners who are drug addicts, and the Delancey Street Foundation in San Francisco, a "family" of ex-prisoners. Neither of these groups has been dependent on Federal aid, welfare funds or large foundation grants. Each has made a difference.

In Seattle, the Community Crime Prevention Program has organized residents, neighborhood by neighborhood, to make security inspections of homes, mark property and coordinate block watches. According to Barry Krisberg, head of the N.C.C.D. Research Center West, burglaries were reduced by as much as 61 percent in participating households, more in-progress burglaries were reported to police and there were no increases in burglaries in adjacent neighborhoods.

In New York City's South Bronx, where criminal victimization of the poor has reached epidemic proportions, People for Change has mobilized residents against landlords



'NUCLEAR SAMIZDAT' Is Available At LOW BULK RATES

- _____ 1 copy \$3
- _____ 10 copies \$8
- _____ 50 copies \$30
- _____ 100 copies \$50
- _____ 1,000 copies \$300

What do Russians think about the nuclear arms race? Two prominent Marxist Soviet dissidents, historian Roy A. Medvedev and biologist Zhores A. Medvedev, provide the unofficial Soviet viewpoint in this special January 16 issue of *The Nation*. Essential information for all who read E. P. Thompson's "Letter to America," in our January 24, 1981, issue, "Nuclear Samizdat" is addressed to the peace movement in the West.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Please make check or money order payable to
The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

who milk their buildings and then abandon them, redlining by banks and gentrification—all of which have contributed to neighborhood deterioration.

Arson watches and escort services are being tried in several cities and towns. In New York City, the Guardian Angels, groups of youths who patrol streets and subways, have been criticized for alleged vigilante overtones, but they have set an example of public service by young people.

The Santa Monica, California, renters' rights coalition has mounted an impressive anticrime program at the neighborhood level. Before the April 1981 City Council elections, conservative landlords and other opponents of democratic planning soft-pedaled their opposition to rent control and other progressive measures and pandered to voter fears of crime. Their main tactics were to petition successfully for an anticrime proposition on the ballot and to flood the city with elaborately produced brochures that trumpeted the slogan "Make Crime Control Santa Monica's First Priority." The leader of a group called Santa Monicans Against Crime headed their slate of candidates.

"If we had merely responded defensively," comments Derek Shearer, the campaign manager for the progressive coalition, "we would have been swamped. Instead, we took the initiative." The coalition mailed every voter a "Crime Prevention Guide," which provided information on making homes more secure and on how to organize "neighborhood watch groups." It also put an anticrime proposition of its own on the ballot, which required the City Council to enact—no later than January 14, 1982—"a comprehensive crime prevention program." These initiatives, together with the coalition's stands on better city planning and preserving rent controls, stole the right's thunder. The progressives' anticrime proposition won the approval of more than 90 percent of the voters. In a sweeping victory, promptly lamented by a *Wall Street Journal* editorial, all the progressive candidates were elected [see Maurice Zeitlin, "Tenant Power to Political Power," *The Nation*, July 4, 1981].

Following the elections, a thirteen-member Citizens' Crime Commission, which includes two police officers, was formed. The City Council, under Mayor Ruth Goldway, has funded a number of neighborhood centers (costing about \$75,000 each) that sponsor crime-prevention activities; extended to tenants the right (previously enjoyed only by landlords) to present their demands for better street lighting at public hearings; appointed a new city attorney, who has given serious attention to police officers' complaints about working conditions and helped settle longstanding disputes between the officers and their union, and appointed four new police officers.

Help for Victims

While the Bill of Rights prohibits double jeopardy (i.e., trying a person twice for the same offense), a crime victim often suffers triple jeopardy. The victim suffers at the hands of the burglar, mugger, crooked landlord or arson profiteer, he suffers when he loses wages (or even his job) because of the time he must spend in court, and he suffers a third time if his cooperation with the authorities brings retaliation by

the accused. In the case of a woman who has been raped, the jeopardy may be quadrupled. Some police officers, district attorneys and judges still presume the rape victim guilty of lying or seductive behavior until she is proved innocent. The woman has no right to an attorney under present law.

"Victimology"—programs to help crime victims—is a promising approach to these problems. One of the great achievements of the women's movement was the creation of rape crisis centers (many of which are now threatened by Federal budget cuts) staffed by victims and community organizers. This example has prompted the establishment of centers for abused children as well. Another method of helping the victims of robberies and street crimes is through compensation boards, which exist in more than a dozen states. Typical of these is the New York State board, which helps victims (and their families) by reimbursing them for medical services, funerals and wages lost while testifying in court. A logical next step would be a Victim's Bill of Rights, which could provide for witness compensation, protection against reprisals, prompt return of confiscated property, progress reports on the prosecution of offenders, free legal services and restitution payments by the criminal or, failing that, by the government.

Genuine Full Employment

Most urban street crime is essentially self-employment that fills a small part of the vacuum created by the high levels of unemployment among young blacks and Hispanics. Compared with dead-end menial jobs and CETA jobs (both of which are now in short supply), robbery and drug peddling offer flexible hours, minimal risks, tax-free income and prestige among one's peers. In addition, the criminals can take advantage of welfare payments and food stamps and, while in prison, the free extension courses in crime skills offered by more experienced fellow inmates.

The sponsors of the Hawkins-Reuss-Humphrey Equal Opportunity and Full Employment bill, introduced in 1974, sought to deal directly with the relationship between joblessness and crime. They proposed that every adult American able and willing to work be guaranteed an opportunity for useful and productive employment at fair wages. This would be accomplished mainly through economic planning and the creation of more jobs in the public sector. The sponsors hoped that progress in this direction would, in the words of Hubert Humphrey, go "to the very heart of America's most complex social problem: the hopelessness, alienation, drug addiction and crime that often arise when human beings—no matter what their sex, age, or ethnic background—are told that they are not needed." But the big-business lobbies succeeded in watering down the final legislation. Jimmy Carter then violated the spirit of the already weak law by using unemployment as a tool to fight inflation [see Gross, "Law Enforcement," *The Nation*, June 30, 1979].

In addition to playing the traditional Republican role of inflation and crime fighter, President Reagan has promised to put America back to work (even though he denied, in his

New Orleans speech, that there is any connection between unemployment and crime). Representative Jack Kemp, Reagan's supply-side doppelgänger, has followed up by introducing, with Representative Robert Garcia, the Urban Jobs and Enterprise Zone bill, which would create jobs in selected "high poverty-unemployment areas" by offering businesses that relocate there the same kinds of tax cuts and deregulation that have pauperized Puerto Rico [see Stanley Aronowitz and Cary Goodman, "A Walk on the Supply Side," *The Nation*, February 21, 1981]. In addition to robbing New York City's other poor neighborhoods, like Harlem and Bedford Stuyvesant, of companies that choose to move to Representative Garcia's South Bronx for the tax advantages, this measure would rob the entire city of the revenues to build and maintain the public amenities that might attract new firms and dissuade others from moving to the Sun Belt.

Just as crime and unemployment are linked, so must a serious anticrime program be linked to a serious full-employment program. Consider the Community-Based Planning for Jobs and Balanced Growth bill introduced last April in the New York City Council. The bill proposes the hiring of unemployed people to rehabilitate housing and retool abandoned industrial facilities, to work in the areas of energy conservation, waste recycling, mass transportation and the expansion of maintenance services, to promote cultural, artistic and recreational activities and to improve basic social services.

At the national level, Representative John Conyers, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, is drafting legislation to guarantee job opportunities to all Americans by strengthening and enforcing the employment act of 1946 and the Hawkins-Humphrey Act. He also hopes to coordinate local and Federal jobs programs, and is drafting a proposal for community-based planning for full employment without accelerated defense spending or inflation. "But no bill, no law and no top-down policy from Washington or City Hall is enough," says Conyers. "To move successfully against crime and addiction, we need a movement—a nationwide jobs-for-all movement at the asphalt and grass-roots level. We need young people mobilizing themselves—together with parents, grandparents, teachers, churches, labor unions and small business—behind the banner of the human right to a productive and fulfilling job. Hope, belonging, self-respect and empowerment—these are our first weapons against violence and addiction in our schools, homes and streets."

"What are our civil liberties worth," asks Corliss Lamont, the twice-mugged chairman of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, "if our right to life is threatened in our streets and homes?" His question hangs in the air. Progressives have been reluctant to confront it because of sincere, and well-founded, doubts about the possibility of devising approaches to the crime problem that will not have repressive consequences.

The progressive initiatives I have described suggest that repression-proof, effective alternatives to "Police 'em. Jail 'em. Kill 'em." do exist. To be sure, community-based an-

ticrime programs are still in the experimental stage and carry with them a potential for vigilantism that should be watched vigilantly; victimology, although long a neglected aspect of criminology, is concerned more with alleviating the consequences of and anxiety about crime than with preventing it; and Conyers et al. notwithstanding, full employment is a long way off, more an ideal than a goal that could be realized after the next election or even the following one. Nevertheless, nothing is clearer than that crime is too important to be left either to the law enforcement establishment or to the repressive right. And it is encouraging to know that these alternative approaches are in the air, what with 1984 just around the corner. □

A PROGRESSIVE CITIZEN'S CRIME BIBLIOGRAPHY

- American Friends Service Committee Working Party. *Struggle for Justice: A Report on Crime and Punishment in America*. New York: Hill & Wang, 1971.
- New Left critique of discretionary sentencing and so-called "rehabilitation," with specific alternatives.
- Clinard, Marshall B., and Yeager, Peter C. *Corporate Crime*. New York: Free Press, 1980.
- Invaluable updating of Sutherland's classic work on corporate crime (see below), defined as "organizational crime" sanctioned by the establishment.
- Flanagan, Timothy J.; Hindelang, Michael J.; and Gottfredsen, Michael R. *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics, 1979*. U.S. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981.
- Useful compilation of official statistics.
- Greenberg, David F. *Crime and Capitalism*. Palo Alto, Calif.: Mayfield, 1981.
- Invaluable collection of Marxist writings, together with commentaries by the editor.
- Krisberg, Barry. *Crime and Privilege: Toward a New Criminology*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1975.
- How the treatment of lawbreakers differs according to social status, and the development of prisoner militancy.
- National Council on Crime and Delinquency. *Doing Violence to the Crime Problem: A Response to the Attorney General's Task Force*. September 1981.
- Toward Realistic Reform: A Commentary on Proposals for Change in New York City's Criminal Justice*. February 1981.
- Both from N.C.C.D., 411 Hackensack Ave., Hackensack, N.J. 07601.
- Strong liberal critiques of major proposals of the Reagan Administration and Mayor Edward Koch of New York City.
- Prison Research Education Project. *Instead of Prisons*. P.R.E.P., 3049 E. Genesee St., Syracuse, N.Y. 13224. 1976.
- Demystification of the prison system, with reports on community empowerment and community solutions as alternatives to incarceration.
- Quinney, Richard. *Criminology: Analysis and Critique of Crime in America*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1975.
- Critical review of crime and criminology, with a realistic analysis of "community-based corrections."
- Skogan, Wesley G., and Maxfield, Michael. *Coping with Crime: Individual and Neighborhood Reactions*. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1981.
- Field studies on ten neighborhoods in Chicago, Philadelphia and San Francisco, with emphasis on responses to crime through community involvement, personal and household protection or flight to the suburbs.
- Strauss, Murray A., and Gelles, Richard J. *Behind Closed Doors: Violence in the American Family*. New York: Doubleday, 1981.
- Pathbreaking, high-quality research on child abuse, sibling abuse and male-female violence in the home.
- Sutherland, Edwin R. *White Collar Crime*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1949; 1961 edition with foreword by Donald R. Cressey.
- Classic analysis of organized lawbreaking and recidivism by seventy U.S. corporations.

Recapturing the 'Family Issue'

MICHAEL LERNER

Much of the success of the right in the last election was attributed to its ability to capitalize on so-called family issues. Now, partly out of the mistaken belief that the real issues are economic and that "quality of life" issues are secondary, progressives have pretty much ceded to conservatives this political terrain. All progressives need do, the thinking goes, is sit back and wait for the collapse of President Reagan's economic program.

Many progressives also suspect that profamily programs are a Trojan horse for the revival of patriarchy. These fears are particularly acute among people in their 20s and early 30s and among feminists, who know that charges of being antifamily have always been used as a rallying cry against their programs.

These fears are legitimate. Yet there is a growing interest in family issues among both middle-income working people and many 1960s activists who are now confronting the problems of raising children—and it has nothing to do with a renewed commitment to the traditional patriarchal family. Large numbers of single mothers who have no yearning to return to oppressive, male-dominated relationships also see themselves as profamily. For them, as for many other Americans, the word "family" has a broad meaning: an institution dedicated to nurturing its members and rearing the next generation. These people see the family as a refuge from a dog-eat-dog society—a haven where love and commitment can take precedence over competition and struggle.

Because the right appears to be the only profamily voice in American society, many of its economic and social programs that have nothing to do with family life have won widespread support. But even if Reaganomics fails to produce economic miracles, and even if stagflation and unemployment increase, the appeal to family values may continue to strike a responsive chord among millions of Americans. Family issues are emotional and potentially divisive, and in the 1980 election, conservatives used them effectively to woo the Democratic Party's working-class supporters. As the devastating effects of the President's economic programs become more apparent, these same issues could be used to divide the left and to divert attention from the Administration's failures.

Progressives should meet this challenge by launching a spirited attack on the contradictions inherent in the right's profamily ideology. Although conservatives represent

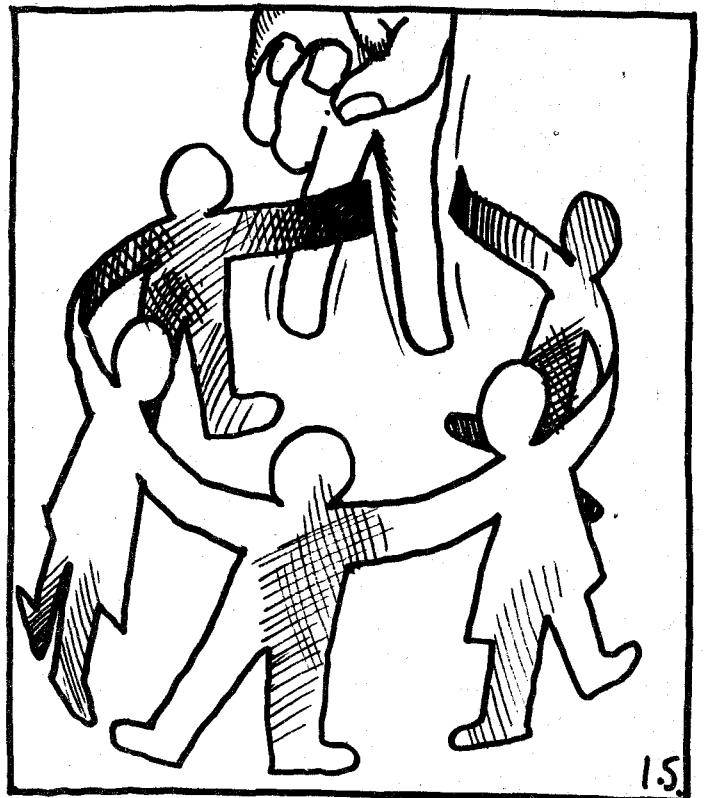
themselves as the champions of the family (and, by extension, as the foes of crime, pornography, drugs and unwed motherhood), their programs actually undermine stable family life. To grasp why this is so, we must understand the major forces threatening the American family today. These fall into five categories:

§ *The Impact of Work on Family Life.* Many people's jobs have become increasingly stressful in recent years; psychological rewards and opportunities for satisfying personal relationships in the work place have diminished. The fragmentation of work, the "de-skilling" of the labor force and the erosion of working-class solidarity also contribute to occupational stress.

In more than half of the families in this country, both the husband and the wife work—and bring home stress from their jobs. The result: small squabbles blow up into large quarrels, or conflict is suppressed and emotional contact avoided by escaping into television or the frenetic pursuit of sports or social life. Disappointments in the home then become an independent source of stress, as people criticize themselves because their family life fails to measure up to the imagined harmony of other families.

A true profamily program would be one that seeks to restructure the work place to decrease stress and to bring different families together to explore their common problems.

§ *Inequalities of Power.* The destructive legacy of a sexist culture is another cause of family breakdown. Working women today are less bound to oppressive marriages than nonworking women. Relationships in which there is an inequality of power and respect are inherently unstable and likely to collapse. So a true program of family support would champion the struggle for the equality of women both in the home and in the work place. Similarly, full



Michael Lerner, a psychologist, is the director of the Institute for Labor and Mental Health in Oakland, California, and dean of the Graduate School of Psychology at New College of California in San Francisco. He is also the National Chair of Friends of Families, 3137 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, Calif. 94609 (415-653-6166).

reproductive rights, including the right to abortion, must be guaranteed. If families are to survive, husbands and wives must have full control over the number of children they bring into the world.

§ *Fragmentation and Isolation.* Families need support from their communities, but these communities are also vulnerable to outside forces. A prime cause of community breakdown is the movement of capital; for example, a factory closes, forcing people to relocate to find jobs. The mass media also contribute to the disintegration of community and neighborhood ties. Television portrays families whose problems can be solved in a half-hour episode, leading the families that are watching to conclude that their own problems are abnormal. As a result, they become reluctant to talk over their troubles with their neighbors. Such families turn in on themselves and become isolated and alienated, making them more susceptible to the seductive manipulations of advertising. A true family-support program would attempt to break down this isolation and to counter the fantasy solutions of advertising.

§ *Economic Worries.* These fears often exacerbate tensions within a marriage. Many men believe that society expects them to be the "breadwinner"—to provide for their families—and they become angry at themselves when they cannot. Their frustration is frequently vented in outbursts at their wives or their children.

Often, these private anxieties have social causes. The fear of unemployment is strongest in communities threatened by plant closings and in occupations where new technologies threaten significant job reductions. Tensions engendered by the lack of affordable child-care facilities, housing and medical care can also weaken family life. And the absence of comprehensive and humane programs to assist the elderly often places intolerable financial burdens on their children.

A true family-support program would call for full employment, socialized health care, affordable, community-controlled child care and wider availability of new housing and mortgage loans.

§ *Distrust Your Neighbor as Yourself.* In order to be able to make a long-term commitment to a marriage or a family, a person must be capable of love and open to intimacy. Yet the dictates of the marketplace are such that most people develop a kind of armor over their feelings. The competitive system encourages people to see one another as potential enemies. A person who has been encouraged to "Win Through Intimidation" and "Look Out for No. 1" finds it difficult to drop his defensive mannerisms when he is with his family and his friends.

This inability to love is reinforced by the media's use of sexuality to sell products. Viewed as just another commodity to be bought with the right "style" or approach, sexuality's importance as a form of communication is lost. So a real family-support program would be one that challenges the values of the marketplace and demands a restructuring of the economy to emphasize mutual support and cooperation, rather than competition and "me-first-ism," which are the hallmarks of the free-enterprise ethos. Moreover, it would challenge the media's manipulation of sexuality and

the continued exploitation of women that flourishes under the label "sexual liberation."

The right's claim to be the sole champion of the family cannot stand up to scrutiny. On the contrary, only progressive programs can create the network of social support that families need. But to get their message heard, progressives must take the offensive. The trade union movement, the women's movement, the civil rights movement, the liberal wing of the religious community, environmentalists and community activists must unite in progressive profamily lobbies.

One such group, Friends of Families, has made a start in this direction. Friends of Families argues that a profamily strategy is a major way to defeat the right in 1982, and that without such an approach, protests about repression in El Salvador, the dangers of nuclear power and the erosion of civil liberties are likely to appeal only to those sectors of the population that are already anti-Reagan. Friends of Families has proposed a three-part program to win broad popular support.

(1) *A Family Bill of Rights.* The Family Bill of Rights will take the progressive community from a negative position (e.g., opposing the Family Protection Act) to a positive one. The proposal calls for community-controlled child care; housing construction programs; tax incentives for parents participating in family-support groups; a thirty-five-hour work week, and safety and health committees elected in the work place that would have the power to improve working conditions.

(2) *American Families Day.* This is envisioned as an annual day of community celebrations of family life, including games, entertainment and workshops on family problems. American Families Day would be a way to inform millions of Americans about the Family Bill of Rights.

(3) *A Family-Support Network.* American Families Day could be used by the progressive profamily coalition to organize a network of neighborhood groups, including family councils, where the Family Bill of Rights would be discussed and refined, and family-support groups, where families could discuss their problems and learn from one another. These support groups, which would be modeled on the consciousness-raising groups started by the women's movement, would seek to erase the stigma of being a "problem family."

Implementing this agenda is not merely a political tactic to counter Reagan and the right. It is also an effective way of building an "emotional infrastructure" for progressive policies. It is a way of overcoming the sense of powerlessness many people have, which leads them to assume they cannot effect social change. Such a politics can embolden millions of people to demand the kinds of changes that progressives seek in the name of constructing a society that is more hospitable to lasting, loving relationships.

Many people, when asked why they do not work for social change, reply: "Are you kidding? I've got to work on my own life first." The illusion is that by ourselves we can make everything right for ourselves. And when people

fail—as most do—they become angry at themselves, frustrated and despairing. The family-support strategy can break through this illusion about the separation of personal life from work life, the economic world from the social world, by convincing people that they have a deep personal stake in social change—that their personal lives don't work because of the way that the larger social order is organized.

Building a progressive profamily movement should be a priority for the labor movement, the women's movement and all who want to change the political dynamics of the 1980s. By demanding a society that supports rather than destroys love and intimacy, we have a way of raising the issue of fundamental social change that can finally be heard by constituencies that have never listened to progressives in the past. Such a movement could speak to the needs of young people now attempting to build families—and unite them with those in the working class who have turned to the right more out of despair than out of conviction. □

University

(Continued From Front Cover)

centers, one for microelectronics and one for biotechnology. The former, the Center for Integrated Systems, numbers Hewlett-Packard, TRW, G.E., Fairchild Camera and Instrument (a subsidiary of the Curaçao-based multinational Schlumberger), I.B.M., I.T.T., G.T.E. and Texas Instruments among its participants. The latter, the new Center for Biotechnology Research, is a nonprofit operation (which has a 30 percent interest in the profit-making Engenics Company) in which six multinationals are currently collaborating on research projects: General Foods, Koppers, Mead, Bendix, Maclaren Power and Paper (owned by Noranda Mines) and Société Nationale Elf Aquitaine.

Last December, M.I.T. approved an unprecedented affiliation between the university and a private benefactor, an arrangement that, in the words of even some of its strongest critics at M.I.T., is “of landmark significance to the future of educational institutions in this country” and “a model not only for future ventures by M.I.T. but also for settlements between universities and other organizations for years to come.” Under its agreement with M.I.T., the new Whitehead Institute for Biomedical Research (W.I.), an independent, privately controlled entity, is granted an unheard-of degree of access to and control over university-based research, including participation in the appointment of faculty members. But this latest venture at M.I.T. has significance and implications that extend beyond the groves of academe.

During the past decade, as international competition has intensified and multinational corporations have grown, the corporate community and the industrialized nations have

been seeking a coherent vision of a restructured international economic order—and a secure and dominant place within it. Increasingly, moreover, the so-called high-technology industries—microelectronics, computers, telecommunications and, most recently, biotechnology—are being viewed as central to this search. “We have come to a transition,” declared Lucy Wilson Benson, Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology in the Carter Administration. “We have entered an era in which the interactions between science and technology and foreign affairs are increasingly recognized as continuous and central to many of the important foreign policy problems with which we are dealing.”

In particular, attention has been focused not only on high-technology products and processes but also on the scientific research that makes the new technologies possible. Scientific knowledge is now considered an important commodity in and of itself. Industrialized nations, especially the United States, see this knowledge as the key to reversing their weakened competitive positions in manufacturing and their balance of trade deficits. It also can be bartered for essential oil and minerals from resource-rich but technology-poor countries. Thus, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development has proclaimed that “intellectual capital—scientific resources and the aptitude for technological innovation—constitutes the major asset of industrialized nations in the new modes of international competition and interdependence.”

At the same time, control over scientific knowledge has become a central goal in the strategies of multinational corporations, strategies which, to a large extent, will determine national policies and prospects. Since the universities are the source of this essential new commodity, the multinationals are moving in, seeking to acquire privileged access to and control over the form and flow of scientific research. High-technology knowledge has become a key variable in our future, which raises many questions. Who will control it? Whose ends will it serve? Whose needs will it meet? The new university-business affiliations, like the Whitehead Institute, suggest the shape of things to come, and thus merit close attention.

After a search lasting nearly a decade, Edwin C. Whitehead, who made his millions from Technicon (since acquired by Revlon), a biomedical instrument firm he founded, chose M.I.T. as the host for the Whitehead Institute. The institute will be an autonomous, private, nonprofit organization housed in facilities paid for by Whitehead that adjoin the M.I.T. campus, and it will be devoted to research in molecular genetics and developmental biology. Financed by the \$5 million annual income from a trust fund given by Whitehead and, eventually, by the income from a \$100 million endowment bestowed upon it by him, the institute will be governed by a board of fourteen trustees, including three from M.I.T., three chosen with the approval of M.I.T. and three of Whitehead's children. Its director will be M.I.T. biologist David Baltimore, who initiated the negotiations between Whitehead and the university. In short, the institute will be a private think tank devoted

David F. Noble is the author of America By Design (Knopf), a history of university-industry collaboration since the nineteenth century, and an associate professor at M.I.T.

to making discoveries in a new scientific field, discoveries which will become the intellectual capital of a new industry and the property of those who will control it. As such, it does not differ substantially from other nonprofit foundations and institutes set up in the past century for purposes as diverse as philanthropy and humanitarianism, tax write-offs, indirect conduits for commercial investments, vocational training, personal immortality or family togetherness. What makes the Whitehead Institute unique is its affiliation with M.I.T.

Under the terms of his agreement with M.I.T., which was approved last December, Whitehead will give the university only \$7.5 million, which is less than what the M.I.T. biology department spends in one year. In addition, W.I. will pay the salaries of a new "joint faculty," whose members will hold appointments in both institutions, and it will provide tuition and assistantships for graduate students working under members of the joint faculty. Finally, the director of the institute will be a tenured M.I.T. faculty member or, if chosen from outside the university, will be given tenured faculty status.

In return for all this, what does W.I. stand to gain? According to the official, and somewhat ambiguous, description given to the faculty, M.I.T. agreed to transfer to the institute all grants "for which the principal investigator becomes a W.I. faculty member." More important, M.I.T. will give W.I. ownership of all patents on inventions resulting from research done by the joint faculty and financed by the institute. W.I. will share the royalties on these patents with the university, but only after it has recouped all of its expenses. W.I. will also have access to all M.I.T. facilities "normally made available to M.I.T.'s own faculty and staff" and, more important, it will be able to influence some of the best faculty and graduate students in the country. The influence will be exercised through the financial support it chooses to give, and that translates into a fair measure of control over the direction of research in M.I.T.'s biology department. In addition, the institute has been given the unprecedented right to initiate the appointments of up to fifteen (twenty after seven or eight years) M.I.T. faculty members, who, after approval by the university, will hold joint appointments at M.I.T. and the institute.

Above all, W.I. has acquired the prestige of M.I.T., perhaps the most respected technical institution in the world. It represents an accumulated social investment that could not be duplicated for a thousand times what Whitehead is spending. M.I.T. is not simply its buildings and grounds, its faculty and students. It is more than physical, financial and intellectual resources. It is also a distinguished name that bestows academic respectability, scientific credibility, entree into scientific circles the world over and a fair degree of political pull, influence in the business community and social power.

Not surprisingly, the affiliation touched off a controversy at M.I.T. Some critics of the arrangement questioned Whitehead's motives. Why, they ask, did he not simply give

his fortune to M.I.T., as other benefactors have done, if he was truly interested only in the promotion of science? Some have attributed Whitehead's desire to retain control over his money to his distrust of academics, the eccentricities of a very rich man and family considerations. Others have suggested that his reasons are commercial. They point, for example, to Revlon, which has moved into the biotechnology area, and to Liposome Company, a biotechnology firm which is backed by Whitehead Associates and Inco Securities. Then there is Collaborative Research Inc., a Massachusetts biotechnology firm which took steps to go public two weeks before the M.I.T.-Whitehead Institute affiliation was approved. David Baltimore is the firm's second largest individual shareholder. (Interestingly, Baltimore has also led the drive within the National Institutes of Health Recombinant DNA Committee to get rid of mandatory safety guidelines regulating this emerging technology.)

Others have asked why Whitehead needed an academic host at all. Why did he not just set up his own institute? One plausible answer is that without the affiliation with M.I.T., W.I. is nothing, for all its money.

Many critics have wondered why the university was so eager to enter into such an arrangement in view of the modest initial financial rewards and the considerable potential for harm to M.I.T.'s reputation and its academic freedom and integrity. Speculation has focused on the prospects of long-range financial gain for the university, the career and corporate ambitions of key figures behind the arrangement, the need for M.I.T. to get a foothold in an important new industry, the desire of administrators to cultivate closer ties with private sources of financial support and, finally, an alleged threat by Baltimore that if the deal did not go through, he would leave M.I.T., thus possibly crippling the university's Center for Cancer Research, which he heads.

The institute's critics at M.I.T. raised all of these objections in their battle against affiliation, yet they failed to stop it. Their failure was due not only to a lack of power but also to a lack of a broad understanding of the issues involved. Perceiving the matter solely as the potential corruption of an academic institution by commercial enterprise, they neglected the larger social perspective. Thus they ignored, first, the public-interest questions raised by the arrangement. Are M.I.T.'s resources and reputation, created largely at public expense, really M.I.T.'s to sell? In return for money and operating expenses, W.I. receives privileged access to—and a fair measure of control over—publicly created resources. The M.I.T. biology department, for example, the heart of the affiliation, has received substantial public support during the past two decades, when the explosion of knowledge in biotechnology took place. (There is some disagreement about the precise amount, but the secretary of the M.I.T. Corporation has acknowledged that the extent of public support for departmental research has been "very large"; the dean of science's word for it was "considerable.")

Not only have taxpayers bought the equipment used in the research but they have contributed to salaries, student aid,

postdoctoral fellowships and campus overhead; indirectly, they have helped finance careers, reputations, even Nobel Prizes. And most of the funds that did not come directly from the government were provided by public philanthropies like the American Cancer Society (sponsor of Baltimore's chair)—from the nickels and dimes of millions of donors. Clearly, then, the affiliation does not involve just M.I.T.'s interests but the taxpaying public's interests as well.

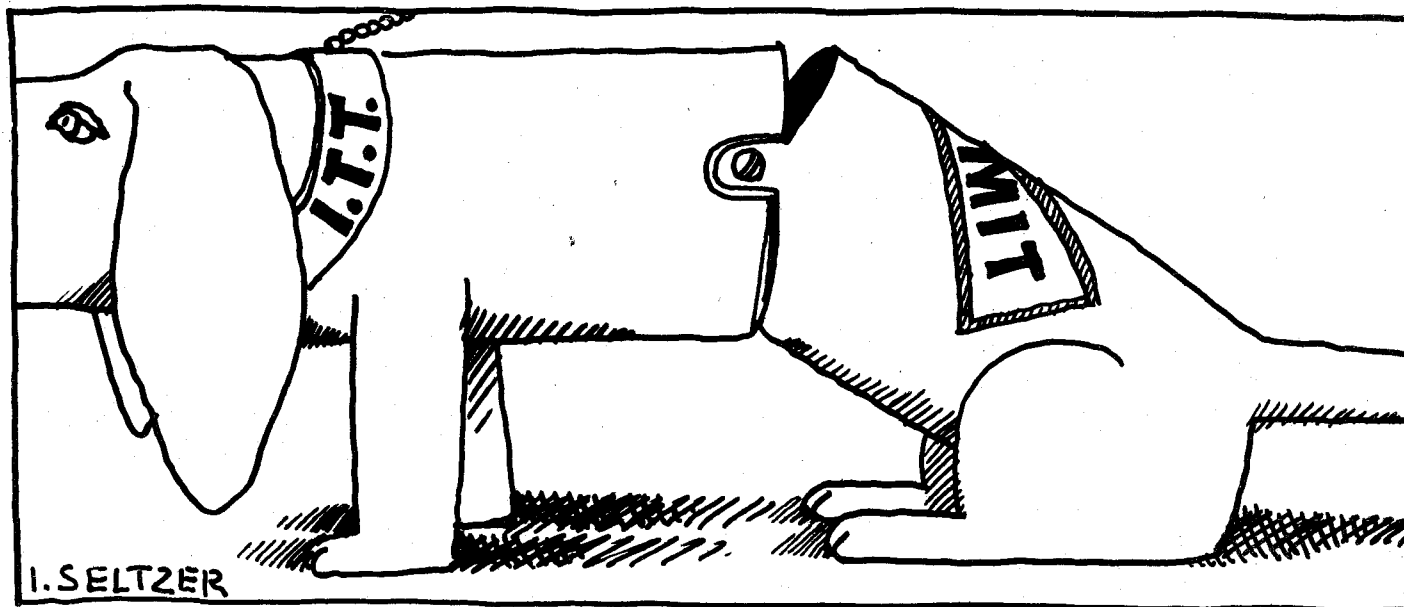
Second, and equally important, the M.I.T. critics of the Whitehead Institute also lost sight of another interest—that of the corporate academics, the faculty members who serve on corporate boards. They were the ones who pushed so hard for the new arrangement and who will preside over it and others like it. For them, M.I.T. and W.I. are merely two elements of the same enterprise, producing high-technology research that will serve the ends of multinational industry.

The debate at M.I.T. was conducted without regard for the public interest, with no public participation and with little public scrutiny. The press was barred from faculty meetings and meetings of the M.I.T. Corporation whenever the institute was discussed. It is essential that the proceedings be made part of the public record, therefore, as a contribution to future debate. This is too important a matter to be left in the hands of private institutions and corporations, however well intentioned they may be. The public has considerable interest in the controversy, one that warrants the widest possible discussion.

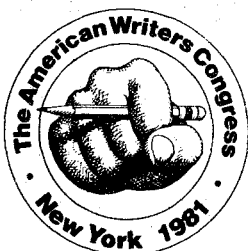
The record of the proceedings is revealing less for what was discussed than for what was not, namely, the public interest and the interests of multinational enterprise. As I have suggested, criticism of the agreement creating the Whitehead Institute mainly involved a defense of the autonomy and integrity of M.I.T. This had also been the case at Duke University, where Whitehead had tried unsuccessfully to set up a similar arrangement some years before he approached M.I.T. [see Tom Schlesinger, "Why the Nixon Library is Good for Duke," *The Nation*, December 26,

1981]. According to William Anlyan, Duke's vice president for health affairs, negotiations with Whitehead broke down in part because of fears about "the independent operation of the W.I. and the control Mr. Whitehead would retain over the areas of research to which the institute was directed." Such concern was voiced, for example, by Duke's dean of engineering, Aleksander Vesic. "The underlying question in this matter is the purpose of a university, which is to generate and assimilate new and existing knowledge," Vesic told the *Duke Chronicle* recently. "If something goes beyond that purpose, it is conflicting. I assume that Whitehead's purpose went beyond that. I don't understand why he should want to get involved in such detail in an operation of this kind. There comes a point when it's not philanthropy anymore. If James B. Duke [Duke's benefactor] had left an endowment and then wanted to appoint professors, it wouldn't have been any good."

Opposition to the Whitehead Institute at M.I.T. focused on the surrender of the university's traditional prerogatives to control the direction of research, appoint professors, retain patent rights and command the undivided allegiance of its faculty. An editorial in the student newspaper, *The Tech*, charged that affiliation with the institute would detract from the educational mission of M.I.T. Prof. J. Herbert Hollomon, director of M.I.T.'s Center for Policy Alternatives, said, "I think a great disadvantage of this proposal is M.I.T.'s giving up some of its autonomy in appointing faculty. This is quite irregular. I am concerned with the power of any one man, Baltimore or anybody. He would have control of any appointments and the direction of research at M.I.T. I don't see why Whitehead has to have a separate institution." Hollomon also said that "any patents . . . should belong to M.I.T." Last November, as the dispute came to a head, thirty-three full professors joined the opposition. In a widely circulated letter they declared, "We believe that such a close tie, with all its implications for our educational programs and academic independence, would be contrary to the best interests and academic integrity of M.I.T."



AMERICAN WRITERS CONGRESS POSTERS



Designed by Walter Bernard, this beautiful four-color poster commemorates the American Writers Congress. The poster measures 18 x 26 inches and costs only \$5.00 (includes postage and handling).

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Please make check or money order payable to The Nation Institute, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011

WC8205

MISSING SOMETHING?

If you were unable to attend some of the panels at the American Writers Congress, or even if you just want to hear distinguished writers such as Toni Morrison, E. L. Doctorow and Arthur Miller who participated in the panels and sessions at the Congress, *don't miss out*. Audio cassettes of the most dramatic events of the Congress are *now available* for individual, classroom and institutional use—for only \$7.99 per cassette (plus handling).

Available tapes:

- ☐ Welcoming Address
- ☐ Eros, Language and Pornography
- ☐ How the Culture Industry Shapes Culture
- ☐ The Political Economy of the Culture
- ☐ Have Writers Discarded History?
- ☐ The Politics of Literacy
- ☐ Libel as a Political Weapon
- ☐ Theater as Popular Culture
- ☐ The Future of Investigative Reporting
- ☐ Self-Publishing Workshop
- ☐ Language as Ideology
- ☐ Working-Class Fiction
- ☐ Screenwriting
- ☐ Why a Union?
- ☐ And Others!!!!

Send \$7.99 for each cassette to:
Cultural Products, Room 100, One Penn Plaza,
New York, N.Y. 10001

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

(All orders add \$1.50 postage • New York State residents add 8% tax • allow 8 weeks for delivery)

WC8205

Two of these professors, one from the biology department and one from the physics department, expressed alarm at the undue influence that W.I. would exercise. "M.I.T.'s reputation is centrally involved," they pointed out. "Mr. Whitehead is admittedly proposing to donate a large fraction of his fortune toward its [W.I.'s] inception, but M.I.T. would be contributing over a century of experience in academic affairs and a prestige and faculty that would give W.I. a position far beyond that of any other biomedical research institute of comparable size and facilities." The two professors urged M.I.T. to reject the affiliation in order "to maintain its independence and credibility as an educational institution." The executive officer of the biology department concurred. "It is clear that Mr. Whitehead makes a mockery of what we at a university stand for," he wrote. "I believe that the requirements of Mr. Whitehead and the *raison d'être* of the university are fundamentally incompatible and mutually exclusive. . . . It has been very hard for many of us in the Biology Department to speak out when the powers that be, the hands that feed us, are the standard-bearers of the opposite point of view." Nevertheless, he urged his colleagues to "send Mr. Whitehead the clear message that our value system and beliefs in the academic way of life as a basis for scholarly endeavor must be protected."

Though no doubt sincere, such eloquent allusions to the autonomy and integrity of M.I.T. were not enough to turn the tide, nor even to delay the rush by the institute's supporters to close the deal. Long before the faculty met to vote on the matter, a director had been chosen, trustees named and documents approved and signed. The faculty, in short, was handed a *fait accompli* by the administration, which was lined up solidly behind the deal. As it happened, this administration had only recently been installed, so a vote against the institute was seen as a vote of no confidence in the new administration, or even as a sign of disloyalty. All this proved too much for a rather timid and "clubby" faculty, and the measure passed easily.

The meeting at which the vote was taken was chaired by M.I.T. President Paul Gray, an ardent champion of the affiliation, who led off with an appeal for support for the measure. Throughout the session, the faculty, few of whom knew—or cared—much about the details of the arrangement, seemed swayed less by the merits of the arguments than by a kind of jovial locker-room camaraderie, and a sense of the pioneering élan of which M.I.T. is so proud.

Even its supporters readily conceded that the affiliation agreement was far from perfect. But, according to the minutes of the meeting, "One member minimized the hazards of this new institutional arrangement by pointing out that a creature from Mars or a less distant location would look at the organization of MIT and conclude that it could not possibly work." Yet it does. Another faculty member said, "MIT lives continuously with conflicts of interest but for at least forty years MIT has pioneered in new institutional arrangements." "MIT is replete with examples of seeming conflicts of interest," echoed a third, "yet people integrate these separate roles, and good will makes it

possible to live with these seeming inconsistencies." A biology professor who also works with Collaborative Research warned wavering colleagues against "irresponsible mistrust." While acknowledging that the arrangement was not an ideal one, he asked the faculty to be realistic. "After all, this is biology not physics," he quipped. One faculty member, the minutes show, viewed the affiliation "not as a marriage, a frequently invoked analogy, but rather as a liaison between consenting institutions." Though his apprehension was not completely allayed by the discussion, he nevertheless announced that "he was not disposed to stop anyone from doing research with whatever funds that can be obtained." According to the minutes, "Members laughed at his observation that academics tend to attribute more morality to themselves in faculty meetings than they probably have." At each quip, the faculty roared its approval, and whatever compunctions they had were dissolved in a warm bath of collegial trust. "Mr. Whitehead is not doing anything John D. Rockefeller did not do," one of their own reassured them.

Ironically, Hanna Gray, the president of the University of Chicago, which John D. Rockefeller founded, told *The Boston Globe* the same week the vote on the institute was taken that she opposed such an affiliation on the grounds that "it could compromise the traditional process for making faculty appointments within a university." Gray added, "I am fundamentally very conservative about the involvement of universities and corporations. I am very wary. One ought to bend over backward not to allow things to happen which, however well protected and well intentioned they may appear to be, nonetheless could lead away from some of the essential things universities have to guarantee."

Only twice during the faculty meeting was any reference made to the public interest. A well-known professor from the management school defended the arrangement by saying that the public is best served by the untrammelled mechanisms of the marketplace. Toward the end of the meeting, I raised the question again, in terms of the misuse of publicly created resources. My arguments were quickly dismissed by President Gray as "off the wall" and unworthy of further consideration. It was assumed that the public interest was served automatically when private interests were served. In other words, what was good for M.I.T. and its patrons was good for the country.

Also ignored in the discussions were the overarching interests of multinational capital. But these were well represented by the corporate academics present. Quite naturally, and without the need for any conspiracy, their two identities merge in their thoughts and actions. Thus do academic interests, and often personal and professional interests as well, converge with corporate interests. These corporate academics have come to share the world view of their confreres in the board room. The world view of the multinational corporations—their fears and goals, their definitions of the national interest, their sense of what is possible or "realistic"—underlies the Whitehead arrangement, which is a case study in the academic-industrial connection. And this world view is dominant not only on the industrial side of the

WRITERS CONGRESS RECORD

The Street Where I Lived

"Whenever I can, I make a point of walking down East Fifty-First Street between Second and First Avenues. From 1949 to 1952 I lived with my parents in a rented brownstone, number 326, so I connect a specific part of my adolescent past with that block and that brownstone, which my mother referred to as the Brian Aherne house because Brian Aherne, the actor, indeed owned it.

"From the outside it was—still is—a rather undistinguished-looking building, deceptively small. The facade is now thickly covered with ivy. While we were there movie companies were constantly asking to use the place for filming, perhaps because there were mirrors everywhere—antique mirrors covering the foyer and the walls and the ceiling of the dining room so I could see my face from every angle. I. M. Pei had remodeled the second-floor interior, opening up the two front parlors into a huge book-lined forty-foot-long living room lit by a crystal chandelier.

"It was such a physically beautiful house and yet in retrospect I associate it with chaos, betrayals and persecution. During the years we lived there our phone was tapped by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and there were murmurings that J. Edgar Hoover was out to prove that somehow we were part of the great Communist conspiracy.

"It was the start of the McCarthy hysteria; my father, Bartley Crum, a registered Republican and practicing Catholic, had been one of the lawyers for the Hollywood Ten. He was also publisher for a time of the left-liberal newspaper P.M. (which he renamed The New York Star). Although he was under tremendous pressure, he gave the impression of genial detachment.

"I didn't understand the significance of what he was involved with then; nor did I realize that the people visiting our beautiful home—the victimized actors (a few of whom later committed suicide), the half-crazed blacklisted writers, the men like Earl Warren and I. F. Stone and Henry Wallace and Jack Javits—might later help define an era.

"Recently someone told me that long after we moved from East Fifty-First Street and shortly before he died, my father finally read his F.B.I. file. All that was in it were transcripts of dozens upon dozens of inane phone conversations between me and my boyfriends.

"That was thirty years ago. I like to think times have changed since I lived on Fifty-First Street—since my silly phone calls were tapped. I like to think times have changed."

Patricia Bosworth, journalist, biographer,
American Writers Congress, October 9-12, 1981.

connection but on the academic side as well.

Thus, the institute's chairman, John Sawhill, hails from academe. The former president of New York University, he is also a member of the Trilateral Commission, founded by David Rockefeller to plan for the new international economic order. Academic members of the W.I. board include Lewis Thomas of the Memorial Sloan-Kettering Institute for Cancer Research and Jerome Wiesner, former M.I.T. president and now a professor at the institute. Thomas is also a director of Squibb, the multinational pharmaceutical firm. Wiesner's corporate connections are much more extensive. He is a director of Celanese, the multinational petrochemical and pharmaceutical company, and Schlumberger, a "technology-oriented multinational," as the firm describes itself, which last year purchased Fairchild, a pioneer in the semiconductor industry. Wiesner, who was one of the most ardent champions of the W.I. affiliation, is also a director of Damon Engineering, a multinational biomedical instrument manufacturer which recently set up a major subsidiary devoted to biotechnology. (Several members of the M.I.T. biology department are also Damon directors.)

The key supporters of the institute at M.I.T.—aside from Baltimore, whose commercial interests have already been described—were the university's president, Paul Gray, who steered the measure through the faculty, and the chairman of the M.I.T. Corporation, Howard Johnson, who won that powerful body's approval of the affiliation. Gray is a director of the Cabot Corporation, a Boston-based multinational specializing in energy products and in the mining, processing and sale of high-technology materials. Johnson is certainly one of the best-connected academics in the country. He sits on the boards of several corporations, among them Champion International, Morgan Guaranty Trust, J. P. Morgan and, most relevant to the present discussion, Du Pont, a leading contender in the biotechnology field.

The M.I.T. Corporation, which gave final approval to the Whitehead Institute early in December, reflects the same array of forces. Most heavily represented are Du Pont and the Cabot Corporation. Representatives of these firms dominate the executive committee, which, well before the faculty vote, strongly recommended approving the affiliation with Whitehead. Others members of the Corporation include officers or directors of I.B.M., Johnson & Johnson, Alcoa, Kodak, Goodyear, Exxon, Exxon Research and Engineering, Texaco, Texas Instruments, Standard Oil (Indiana), Gulf Oil, Kennecott, Digital Equipment, General Motors, Monsanto, Boeing and Schlumberger. There are

also representatives from Wall Street brokerage houses and banks like Paine Webber, Merrill Lynch, Goldman Sachs, J. P. Morgan, Morgan Guaranty Trust, Brown Brothers Harriman and Citicorp, among others. So much for the academic side of this affiliation. Viewed in this context, the affiliation appears to be less a violation of academia than a far-reaching corporate collaboration—for both sides.

Soon after World War II ended, there was a vigorous debate over the shape of the postwar scientific establishment. Citing the unprecedented infusion of Federal funds into scientific research begun during the war, several New Deal politicians sought without success to require some measure of political accountability and social responsibility by the research institutions and the academic scientists who worked in them. In the late 1940s, the corporate academics, led by M.I.T.'s Vannevar Bush, then a director of A.T.&T., Raytheon and Merck, fought successfully against government control of research by preaching the virtues of academic freedom and untrammelled scientific inquiry.

To those who never understood what the debate was really about in the 1940s, it might appear ironic to find the same corporate academics (or their direct descendants) today encouraging new arrangements that, in the view of many, appear to violate university integrity and threaten the future of independent scientific research. But the corporate academics have been consistent—in their actions, if not in their rhetoric. If they previously championed free and pure research in order to protect their personal, professional and institutional prerogatives and interests—all the while calling for and receiving massive public support—they now foster those same interests in the name of "mission-oriented basic research" (an Orwellian phrase used by Frank Press, president of the National Academy of Sciences and former M.I.T. professor and Presidential science adviser.) But the central intent has never really changed: the private control of a public resource, for private ends.

Scientists have interests, and, as we have seen, they are not all scientific. The control over science by scientists—the hallmark of the postwar pattern—is increasingly becoming the control over science by the science-based multinational corporations that scientists serve, and sometimes own or direct. The issue here has little if anything to do with the fanciful contest between "basic" and "applied" research and even less with the struggle to defend "pure" science against external control. The issue, rather, has always been, and continues to be, control by whom, and to what end?

Forgotten in prosperous times, this issue has once again come to the fore. Are the interests of the corporate academics compatible with the larger public interest? Are the interests of multinational corporations in harmony with the national welfare? Is private control over so potent a public resource as science still consistent (if it ever was) with meeting the needs and realizing the hopes of the American people? In an age in which scientific knowledge has become so central to the strategies of multinational enterprises, to the domestic and international policies of nations and, thus, to the future of us all, these questions loom larger than ever before. □

NEXT WEEK Special Issue on Japan

A special issue with articles by Thomas Ferguson and Joel Rogers, John G. Roberts, Bruce Cummings, Herbert P. Bix, Kathleen Malony and Jon Halliday.

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

The Path Always Taken

MICHAEL SORKIN

THE SKYSCRAPER. By Paul Goldberger. Alfred A. Knopf. 178 pp. \$25.

It's not that banality is evil. Just that seriousness recedes before it. Criticism locates, or at least tries to, seriousness. Its first task of interpretation is the job of siting. The banality of the times is nowhere starker than in what passes for a critical tradition in the mass media. Here, by and large, critics tend to stand in the same relation to their subjects as advertisers do to their products. This has to do not simply with puffery but with the use of a limited lexicon of valuation, of a cluster of categories that by their very incantation assure legitimization of a subject.

Architecture, as an object of media consumption, has lately received a tremendous amount of attention. And *The New York Times* has played a leading role in inventing a standard for journalistic criticism of this subject. With the recent retirement of Ada Louise Huxtable, Paul Goldberger has become that paper's single architecture critic, and thus wields great influence. The symbiosis of *Times* and talent could not be greater. Goldberger's work is exemplary of the criticism of the age, of a kind of writing that seeks to code rather than to analyze, of the idea that taxonomy constitutes judgment. His new book, *The Skyscraper*, treats its fascinating subject as a typical *Times* piece might, but at greater length.

The Skyscraper is, to be sure, a "popularization," a general work, and thus relieved of a certain duty to apparatus: mere recitation acquires a certain methodological force, implying predetermination, as if history were its own author. A well-known building is shown, a reaction to it is quoted (more often than not from a hoary issue of *The Times*), and so we proceed to the next newsworthy event. By presenting history as intact, it seems inevitable—not something to be invented, merely something to be looked up. The canon of buildings presented in *The Skyscraper* is completely standard, if somewhat skewed in favor of New York

City projects. Nothing is discovered, nothing unfamiliar intrudes on the corroborative act. The enshrined myth of origins, the Chicago-genesis, is recalled, and established problematics of skyscraper "development" are rehearsed. The picture that emerges grants virtually sole authorship to architects, and complete powers of interpretation to journalists, critics and a small number of artists and writers who represent skyscrapers in their works, thereby affirming (like the inevitable *King Kong* shot) the potency of the skyscraper's image over the contemporary imagination. And so we set off, issues firmly in mind (the expression of "newness," the representation of "verticality," the errors of modernism) and ends clearly in view. What is left to do but annex a chapter a decade?

If Goldberger has made no contribution to the invention of architectural history, he has surely added to the refinement of its rhetoric. As in most newspaper writing, in the absence of argument conviction is solicited by formal means. Goldberger's stature as a sophist is indisputable. His writing is smooth and ingratiating, his manner all reason and *politesse*, with a teeny bit of wit. Judgments have the appearance of balance, filled with Jesuitical unities; the casuistry is not of indecision but of transcendence, of the certainty of never saying anything disagreeable. Of course the Monodnock Building is rather great; of course Raymond Hood and John Mead Howells "were perhaps the most gifted molders of skyscraper form"; of course Louis Sullivan "prefigures" the International Style. One can scarcely rebuke Goldberger for shunning controversy and keeping to the path always taken: The critic of *The Times* does not dispute; he affirms. What rankles, though, is not the utter conventionality of selection but the nearly total eradication of seriousness, the substitution of a code so simplified as to be nearly untrammelled by meaning. Here, then, is the rhetoric of the accepted categories in action.

The construction of these categories depends on only a few actual operations: grouping, juxtaposition and association. Grouping makes a category by establishing a threshold (here are a

large number of buildings that look alike); juxtaposition promotes an opposition in order to embrace apparent disparateness (architecture today is in the midst of a conflict between "computer" and "historicist" esthetics); association gives a more general kind of validation by introducing certain key terms and concepts that confer legitimacy and substance via the force of their status. While "abstract," "sculptural," "intellectual," "pure" and "panache" are not exactly words without qualities, they are words whose main quality, as Goldberger uses them, is their ability to suggest quality, to raise the aura of meaningfulness in the absence of meaning. And Goldberger, with his gift for pithy, summary statements, the kind of simplified discourse whose proper home is the movie marquee, uses these phrases well.

In a chapter called "The Triumph of Modernism," Goldberger presents Frank Lloyd Wright's Price Tower, built in 1955 in Bartlesville, Oklahoma. In his brief discussion there is a nice bit of Goldbergerese: "The tower is full of Wright's tense, energetic desire to break out of the box—it is a study in angles and cantilevers, tensile and tart, a building with far more ideas than its modest size seems to justify." A vigorous sentence, to be sure, but what does it actually mean? What is this box inside which Wright finds himself? Certainly not one of his own designing—if anyone was unfriendly to boxes, it was Wright. Then is it the modernist box, those Miesian buildings mentioned elsewhere in the chapter? Wright was never in this box, either, although he was arguably "boxed in" by the "modernist" (as if that meant anything) fashion of the time. Just a sentence or two back, however, we've been told that the Price Tower is based largely on an unbuilt scheme from 1928, a time when nobody was building boxes, the time of Deco's "flamboyant theatricality." Is Goldberger suggesting that the 1955 building has different desires than the 1928 project? How can he tell? And what is "tense" and "energetic"? Wright's desire to break out of the box? Yes. And the building, one assumes. But *how* is it tense and energetic? Expression seemingly devolves on "tensile and tart" angles and cantilevers, and on a seemingly unjustified number of ideas.

Michael Sorkin is a writer and an architect.

Goldberger apparently uses the hieratic word "tensile" more or less as a synonym for "tense." Here meaning is totally confounded. In a technical sense, "tension" is a simple, but crucial, concept of statics, a particular kind of physical stress. Of course, Wright's tension might also be stressful. Neither angles nor cantilevers, however, can be accurately described as tensile, nor, by extension, can the building. And what of "tart"? Beyond its obvious alliterative appeal, is it meant to suggest that the building is sour, piquant or saucy? And this notion of a relation between size and ideas? How many ideas are too many? And what about those buildings Goldberger admires for their powerful "minimalism" (quite a concept at fifty stories)? Do buildings ever have too few ideas? But there is a hedge here: there are "far more ideas than its modest size *seems* to justify." But are they justified? Is de-

sire fulfilled? Is tension relieved?

This passage, like many others that typify the book's style and argument, if bankrupt at the immediate level, finds significance at a more profound one. It serves to add to the legitimacy of such discourse in the "criticism" of architecture, and, by so doing, helps preclude other ways of seeing and understanding. Buildings are to be viewed not as complex, condensed products of cultural aspirations, as instruments of social forces or as texts susceptible to and demanding readings of rigor and discipline, but as discrete incidents, as individual acts, as just another consumer product. There is no real harm in this book. Its mediocrity is too transparent and its photographs are too appealing. The harm is in the attitude that this is enough, in a spreading belief in the substance of banality. In any event, we await a real history of the skyscraper. □

Jacob to make his point, noting that Jacob died in self-chosen exile but requested that his remains be buried in Israel, and asks, "Is that the secret destiny of the land, to be a burial ground for Jewish bones, or is it also a land of life?" Further, he finds the argument that exile is the source of the Jews' existential strength to be nonsense: "According to this conception, one might wonder why other people do not maintain a sizable diaspora as a sure way to guarantee their national existence for thousands of years."

Yet the Diaspora is both legitimate—chosen by the vast majority of Jews today—and illegitimate, never accepted by Judaism itself. This, says Yehoshua, is neurosis:

What we see is on the one hand hatred and total rejection of the situation of Exile, and on the other hand a powerful drive to maintain it and to live it. All the attempts (and there were few) to grant legitimation to the Golah experience have failed. That includes the attempt by Reform Jewry in the United States to establish the legitimacy of the Jew's existence in the land where he lives, replacing the national component of his bond to Eretz Israel with a kind of disembodied link like that of the Roman Catholic to the Vatican.

Lest you think that Yehoshua has it in especially for Reform Jews, the Lubavitcher rabbi gets his too. The Lubavitcher avoids the conflict between the religious and the national aspects of being a Jew by remaining safely outside the one place where that conflict cannot be avoided: Israel. The Golah forestalls the feared conflict between religion and nationality—a conflict that Israel has been trying to suppress but that many fear is now erupting.

The Jews, Yehoshua argues, have a great fear of a normal, sovereign life in their own country, partly because they are unwilling to choose the national over the religious element, and partly because they cannot let go of the idea of "chosenness," and are thus afraid of normality. His attack on the idea of chosenness and his defense of Israel's right to be a normal society like any other (who but an Israeli could think of his society in terms of normal or abnormal?) are excellent. (In fact, the title of the book in Hebrew is *Bezcut Hanormaliut*, which translates as "in the name of normality," a more representative title than the rather precious English one.) But his polemics get in the way, as does the psychoanalysis; he compares

Diaspora and Neurosis

LESLEY HAZLETON

BETWEEN RIGHT AND RIGHT—Israel: Problem or Solution? By A.B. Yehoshua. Doubleday and Company. 177 pp. \$11.95.

Americans know by now that Israelis see and talk about Israel far more critically than is considered acceptable in the United States. But the essence of the Israeli debate still eludes most Americans. The argument over the geopolitical shape of Israel's future in the region, though continual, is still neither the most intractable nor the most insoluble argument going on inside Israel. The real down-and-dirty issue is Israel itself—what it means to be a Jewish state. This argument provides the dynamic behind and beyond the headaches of Menachem Begin's latest pronouncements.

A.B. Yehoshua's collection of essays lets the American reader into the world of this debate. It is, in many ways, an Alice in Wonderland world: a nation still trying to justify its existence after thirty-four years of that existence suffers from a tragic and chronic insecurity,

but that very insecurity opens up a world of constant questioning that can keep intellectuals employed for as long as they have the energy to run the course.

What kind of nation does Israel want to be? This is a basic question for anyone interested in the Middle East. And it makes this book required reading. It makes it a part of the debate from the inside, from one of the country's most important novelists, who also boasts a freewheeling grasp of psychoanalysis.

Psychoanalysis, however, does not necessarily require compassion, or even common sense. For Jews outside Israel, in what Israelis call The Golah (exile, the Diaspora), Yehoshua's thinking will come as a shock and an insult. In an essay called "The Golah: the neurotic solution," Yehoshua calls the Diaspora "a deep-reaching national perversion," "a virus" and "self-rape." Stung by the fact that only 20 percent of the world's Jews live in the Jewish state, he mixes polemics and reason, cynicism and despair, extremism and sensitivity, so that one minute one finds oneself scribbling exclamation marks of approval and the next of dismay.

Clearly, Yehoshua is not out to make friends with or to influence American Jews. Exile, he argues, was not a tragedy imposed on the Jews but was self-chosen (he brings in Abraham and

Lesley Hazleton is a British-Israeli journalist and the author, most recently, of *Where Mountains Roar: A Personal Report from the Sinai and Negev Desert* (Penguin).

the psychiatric use of "normal" and "abnormal" with "the abnormal situation of continued Jewish existence and non-assimilation in the Diaspora," for example, thus reaching the odd conception of an independent Jewish society in the State of Israel as "a framework for a cure."

Anyone who has lived in Israel for a while and discovered that you don't have to be religious, speak Yiddish or be obsessed by the Holocaust to be Jewish, will sympathize with some of what Yehoshua says about the Diaspora. Yet the sympathy comes with acute embarrassment. Yehoshua's thinking has uncomfortable overtones of elitism, of Israeli superiority over "those Diaspora Jews"—reminiscent of the early Zionist attitude to the Diaspora as a condition or situation that called the Holocaust on itself. This book is so redoubtably Israeli in viewpoint that it can only alienate most, if not all, American Jews. Its very existence and style are a forceful argument for the distance in culture and ideology between Israel and the Diaspora.

This, then, is a book full of conviction, but with little persuasion. Though Yehoshua emphasizes that his ideas are often tentative, they come across as dogmatic in the extreme, perhaps because they stem more from despair than from hope.

Insight and nonsense follow hard upon each other. In an essay on the Holocaust, for example, he writes: "It is [its] essential incomprehensibility—inevitable, given the event's demonic nature—which, I think, is at the root of the obsessional preoccupation with the Holocaust." Nicely put, but then we come to a sentence every letter of which is written in capitals: "The Holocaust is the final decisive proof of the failure of Diaspora existence." From the evidence of one's senses, let alone the census, this is patently untrue. And yet a few pages further on, he gives a quiet warning against assuming that one has any special moral standing because of having been a victim: "The victim does not become virtuous for having been a victim. Although the Holocaust inflicted a horrible injustice on us, it did not grant us a certificate of everlasting righteousness. The murders were amoral; the victims were not made moral."

All this would be well and good, and a nice aside to Menachem Begin, were it not that in the English title essay of the book, Yehoshua argues that Israel's claim to the land is based not on historic

right but on persecution: "The Jewish people has a full moral right to seize *part* of Eretz Israel or of *any other land*, even by force, on the basis of a right which I shall call the survival right of the endangered" [Yehoshua's emphases]. The Holocaust, he says, would never have assumed the enormity it did if there had been a homeland for the Jews at the time; and even if that land had been overrun by Rommel (as it nearly was), "the inhabitants of an independent Jewish state would have died on the battlefield and not in the gas chambers (and there is a basic difference between these two ways of dying)." This difference is essential to the Israeli idea of superiority over the Diaspora. But though there is something to be said for having at least an element of choice in one's own death, I confess that if we are to talk in terms of the heroics of death, I see as little point in dying in defense of a Gush Emunim settlement in the West Bank as I do in dying in a concentration camp.

Yehoshua goes on to formulate this new moral right as "a general proposition": "A nation without a homeland has the right to take, even by force, part of the homeland of another nation, and

to establish its sovereignty there." This right exists as long as one seizes only a part, not the whole, he says. Even those who claim a historic or religious right, he says, can differentiate between right and obligation (a distinction made by the opposition Labor Party in a national atmosphere where it has become practically disloyal to question the right itself). Those who have the right also have the right to relinquish that right. And it must be relinquished because "if we intend to extricate ourselves from the situation of a people without a homeland by turning another people into a nation without a homeland, our right to survival will turn to dust in our hands. We will then be left with no language except the language of force." And the moral right of the "other people," presumably, to seize the same land in compensation for *their* endangered survival right . . .

In many respects these arguments are more like sketches for essays than essays. Yehoshua excuses himself in the introduction by saying that they began as talks and as interviews, as parts of public debates and so on. But one might expect that he would have worked on them more before publishing them in book form. There are too many con-

American Workers & Artists for Solidarity
Supporting organization: P.E.N. American Center

Solidarity

AN EVENING FOR SOLIDARITY

FEATURING:

Joseph Brodsky
Pete Camarata (TDU)
Toy Dixon (UMWA)
Miroslav Chojecki
E.L. Doctorow
Alexander Ehrlich
Carlos Fuentes
Allen Ginsberg
Dick Gregory
Nat Hentoff
Sam Meyers (UAW)
Greg Pardlo (PATCO)
Paul Robeson, Jr.

Ed Sadlowsky (USWA)
Pete Seeger
Daniel Singer
Dave Skocik (PATCO)
Susan Sontag
Studs Terkel
Andrzej Tymowski
Gore Vidal
Kurt Vonnegut
Ben Zemsky (APWU)

Moderator:
Ralph Schoenman

Saturday, February 6, 7:00 PM at Town Hall,
123 W. 43rd St. tickets \$5.00 (Advance sales:
Town Hall Box Office)

**ALL CONTRIBUTIONS
URGENTLY NEEDED.**

Send to:
A.W.A.S. P.O. Box 1205
Princeton, N.J. 08540

traditions, not only between the five essays but within each of them; and the constant change of pace from polemics to sensitive insight is exhausting—much as the argument itself, inside Israel, is exhausting.

Interestingly, it is on the issues that most confuse American Jews that Yehoshua makes most sense. His definition and explanation of a Zionist, for instance, is lucid. After the establishment of Israel in 1948, a Zionist was “a person who accepts the principle that the State of Israel belongs not only to its citizens but also to the entire Jewish people,” a principle embodied in the Law of Return, which insures automatic citizenship for any Jew wishing to live in Israel. It is merely a principle, he stresses. Its implementation is another matter. And that is all there is to it.

Zionism is not a total ideology. If someone says he is a Zionist, he has said very little about himself. He still has to clarify his position on his relationship to society, on the problem of the territories, on questions of religion and state, on the problem of social inequalities, and other things. Zionism cannot substitute for an ideology such as socialism, liberalism or religiosity. The fact is that people who totally disagree with one another on many issues still consider themselves, and their opponents on these issues, Zionists according to the above definition. The bitter debates about the future of Judea and Samaria [the West Bank] are not related to Zionism. These are very important debates, but the various positions taken have no bearing on the question of the definition of Zionism. Had the Arabs accepted the U.N. partition plan in 1947, and the State of Israel lived in peace within the 1947 borders, it would still be a Zionist state, no more or less than present-day Israel. On the other hand, were Israel to annex Judea and Samaria but to rescind the Law of Return, it would be a non-Zionist state even though it stretched over the entire territory of Eretz Israel.

That is certainly one paragraph that would never get a reading in the United Nations.

By now I hope the problem is clear. This book is refreshing and infuriating by turns, though where the turns come will depend entirely on the reader's preconceptions. To this reader, there is both a lot of cant and a lot of brilliance in Yehoshua's book. It gives us a deeply committed, highly opinionated angle on the Israeli argument. As an indication

of the depth and the range of that argument, it is essential reading. But it offers something less than the whole argument, and ideologues of the left might disagree as passionately as those of the right.

Lifted from the context of Israeli dissent and dialectic, then, such a book can be as misleading as it is illuminating. A book to be read, definitely—but to be read with caution unless you already know the road signs. □

Particular Truths

BRINA CAPLAN

THE COUNTRY. By David Plante. Atheneum. 159 pp. \$9.95.

IN THE GARDEN OF THE NORTH AMERICAN MARTYRS. By Tobias Wolff. The Ecco Press. 175 pp. \$14.95.

As steel vaporizes in a beam of laser light, the substance of experience disintegrates when subjected to radical skepticism. Our conceptions of reality could be psychic inventions, the skeptic argues, neither more nor less so than our dreams. However much we protest this argument, we find it difficult to refute. No logical system finally establishes the distinction we make intuitively, at least when awake, between reality and dream. Worse, no formal reasoning proves that our mental reconstructions of the world—our images, symbols, languages—actually tell us about the world instead of, at best, about their own rules of order.

If our experiences and perceptions are simply exercises in self-reference, how much less reflective of reality must be the experiences and perceptions of characters in fiction, who are by definition illusions without existence beyond the printed page. Indeed, deconstructionist critics, viewing fiction in this light, see in it linguistic events rather than meaningful projections of reality and overhear a kind of speech that comments only on itself. The language—not the author—writes the text, they tell us; fiction is the set of changes possible in a self-enclosed system that, like a Rubik's cube, is at once variable and rigidly bound.

Although radical skepticism cannot be formally refuted, it can be opposed. Rather than academic polemicists or philosophers, however, the most convincing defenders of storytelling as an interpretive art are contemporary writers whose careful representation of

Brina Caplan writes regularly on fiction for The Nation.

detail implies that words mirror reality. Against a denial of all truth, they pit individual truths; against the impossibility of general meaning, they set the meaningfulness of small details—apparel, gestures, impulses, the individuated character of human voices. Significant experience emerges, they assume, when the storyteller selects from an infinity of disparate and random possible events those that constitute a pattern of living. As the title of a Wallace Stevens poem has it, such writers pursue a knowledge of the world by following out “The Course of a Particular.”

In David Plante's sixth novel, *The Country*, the particular is a family undergoing a transition between generations. On four occasions, the last of which is their father's death, the seven grown sons of Reena and Jim Francoeur return to their aged parents' home in Providence, Rhode Island. Even as their sons' embraces, chatter and reminiscences surround them, the elderly Francoeurs recede, drawing away from the present toward their French-Canadian, French-Indian past and, simultaneously, toward the unknowable dissolution of their future. To Daniel Francoeur, narrator of *The Country*, his mother, “small and bent,” seems to be “wandering, alone, among large people she did not know.”

Her alienation is essential, not occasional, however. For more than fifty-six years of marriage, this quick, fanciful woman has struggled to a stalemate against her methodical, sober-minded, toolmaker husband and, with even less success, against her own tense and disruptive sense of grievance. She complains within Daniel's hearing,

“I always did what he wanted. He wanted us to sleep in the same bed, though he knew I couldn't have any children or I would die. And we were good Catholics, we didn't want to sin. . . . We slept in the same bed, but if he touched me I said, ‘Do you want me to die?’ He couldn't sleep, he couldn't work. . . . I said, ‘We'll sleep in separate beds.’ He said, ‘No.’

It was hard. It was hard for him. It was hard for me. I thought, 'He can't continue like this.' I gave in. He had his will."

Yet, as Daniel reminds her, he was the baby born because of his father's insistent "will"; and no less than her other sons, she loves him.

In Reena Francoeur's life, frustration and fulfillment, hostility and love, resentment and chosen dependence seem to share a single origin. Rather than the birth of many sons, such double births may be responsible for a puzzled anger that she alternately directs at others and herself. "Promise me," she asks Daniel, "that I'll be buried upside down, because I'll try to claw my way out, and if I'm upside down I'll only dig myself in deeper. I'm too hateful to come back." Visible pain and fanciful humor, in contrast to her husband's quiet stoicism, are Reena Francoeur's responses to the circumstances that, accumulating over anyone's lifetime, have become, by the end of life, one's fate.

A sense that the circumstances inevitably outweigh the life remains strong among the Francoeurs. "My father was born, as I was," Daniel explains, "among the ghosts of a small community of people of strange blood."

Theirs was a religion, not of recourse, but stark truth: death is what we live for, and as terrible as it is, to die is better than to live. . . . It was not God's fault, and it was not our fault, our condemnation; that was the way it was, because we were born condemned, most of us anyway, though we were, ourselves, innocent.

The direct, personal consequence of a belief this harsh and untranscendent is estrangement; no country, not even that of the soul, can be securely regarded as home.

Although such a tradition denies human influence over the destined course of things, it offers the possibility of insight into the ongoing processes of reality; continuity can be traced at the level of event, where careful scrutiny discloses "not . . . recourse, but stark truth." Certainly Plante's storytelling suggests this perspective. His narrator follows action and speech with the watchful precision of an Indian ancestor tracking game through the woods. No word is wasted, and every word reports something seen, heard or touched. As a result, *The Country* is written in spare

prose that isolates the external facts of ordinary life, reminding us of their inherent order and gravity:

My father looked out into the dim room, his face stark, and while he looked out he picked at his thumbnail with the nails of his other hand. . . .

After a long while, I asked, "What is it?"

He said, "The nail of my thumb is broken."

"You can't cut it?"

"I can't, no."

"Let me see," I said, and took his hand. The nails were yellow and long and some of them were cracked. I said, "I'll cut them for you."

My father didn't answer.

In the medicine cabinet over the bathroom washbasin I found a clipper and nail scissors. I took a towel, too, which I placed over my father's knees. He held out one hand, and I grasped it at the wrist, and I clipped the nails. . . .

I asked, "What about your toenails?"

My father, as if stunned, said nothing.

Here, the heavy infirmities of old age make help from the young a necessity; but, as Daniel's response indicates, young people experience a necessity equally compelling—the need to find some comfort that they can provide the old. Jim Francoeur's silent embarrassment, his son's gentle insistence spell out a deep, elemental mutuality.

And so if *The Country* finally fails to convince us of the importance of knowing the Francoeurs, it is not because language fails the novel. Plante's minimalist prose successfully captures the rich harmonies and the troubling discords of family life—providing, in fact, an emotional reality far more resonant than his narrator ever acknowledges. Unfortunately, Plante's spokesman, Daniel Francoeur, can only reproduce—and not resolve—his family's richest mysteries of habit and heart. Parental motives, for example, often remain hidden from us as well as from the characters. Moreover, some Francoeurs possess a baffling ability to impose states of feeling on one another. Daniel has no sooner finished trimming his father's nails than his mother wanders toward him:

"I'm so tired," she said.

"I know. You should go into your room and rest with Dad."

Her face slowly twisted. "I want to die, I'm so tired."

"No, Momma."

Hans Koning Profiled

Author Hans Koning will be the subject of an in-depth profile on WBAI 99.1 FM, New York, on Monday, February 8, 8:30-10 p.m.; the broadcast will include readings from his new novel, *The Kleber Flight*.

FIVE FOREIGN BANK NOTES-10C



Money! Money! Money! it makes the world go around-and here's a collection of real foreign money that will bring you around to the exciting world of Foreign Bank Note collecting. You'll travel back in time to World War II with a Japanese occupation note of Malaya. You'll get a strange little note from Hong Kong. You'll also receive three other notes from Indonesia, China and Bulgaria—all for only 10C. Also Fine Bank Notes from our approval service. Buy only what you like. Return balance promptly. Thank you. Order now!

Jamestown Stamp Company, B22TN,
Jamestown, NY 14701

MEMBER ASDA • APS • SPA

PREPARING FOR NUCLEAR WAR: The Psychological Effects

Hear:

Richard Barnett, Jerome Frank, M.D., Robert Jay Lifton, M.D., John Mack, M.D., Sybille Escalona, Ph.D., Milton Schwebel, Ph.D., Studs Terkel

Feb. 13, 1982
Roosevelt Hotel
45th & Madison
For details call:
PSR/NYC
(212) 477-3416

When drafting your will under the new tax law, please consider making a bequest to *The Nation*.

For information write or call: Office of the Publisher, *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011 (212) 242-8400

"Yes," she said, "I do."
I said sternly, "No, Momma, you don't want to die."
She suddenly smiled. "No. I don't. I don't want to die."

Like a toy car thrown into reverse, the old woman heads obediently for her room. The very smoothness of the maneuver is disturbing, as is Daniel's refusal to examine the motives that interlock to allow so radical a shift.

Plante may offer a clue to the nature of the problem through his narrator, whose career as a writer closely parallels his own: "'What makes writing difficult?'" asks Daniel's father; and his son responds:

"The greatest difficulty for me?
... To write, not about what I feel
and think, but what someone else
does."

The thoughts and feelings of others are certainly not available to us in the way our own perceptions are: reflecting on a friend's outbursts of temper requires a more speculative, contingent form of thinking than discussing impressions of yesterday's snowstorm. And if the format is fiction, not conversation, and the subject not friendship but the strained and tangled relationships of family life, then no doubt the "difficulty" increases. Unwilling to risk failure, Plante avoids success, losing his opportunity to imagine fully the meaning of situations he has imagined with painstaking care.

In realistic fiction, events do not speak for themselves; they require both a shaping grammar that controls incident and explains the convergence of circumstance and personal necessity. Like Plante, Tobias Wolff scrutinizes the disorder of daily living to find significant order; in the best of the stories collected under the title *In the Garden of the North American Martyrs*, he informs us not only of what happened but of why it had to happen as it did.

His characters are various: a prep school freshman; a young mother deserted by her husband; a businessman with a precarious hold on his conscience and his job; an old couple defending property and propriety against obtrusive neighbors; a middle-aged Southerner uncertainly transplanted to a large Northern city. Distant in age, class and geography, these people have in common lives crowded with the results of previous choices. Amid possessions and routines, they pause before decisions

that may fulfill their lives or merely clutter them further.

The heroine of the title story finds herself making a decision of this sort at a time when circumstances have limited her possibilities to the bleak or the ridiculous. A teacher for fifteen years, Mary stabilized her academic career through extreme caution:

Now and then she wondered whether she had been too careful. The things she said and wrote seemed flat to her, pulpy, as though someone else had squeezed the juice out of them. And once, while talking with a senior professor, Mary saw herself reflected in a window; she was leaning toward him and had her head turned so that her ear was right in front of his moving mouth. The sight disgusted her. Years later, when she had to get a hearing aid, Mary suspected that her deafness was a result of always trying to catch everything everyone said.

Even though bankruptcy closes the college and forces her to accept exile, lecturing to the fog-bound in a dank, obscure corner of Oregon, compliance still seems to Mary the appropriate course. Indeed, remembering her accommodating manner, a former colleague, a woman not known for impulsive generosity, invites her to interview for a job back East at her own urbane and sunny institution.

Not only compared with the dismal conditions of Mary's current job but in itself, the college seems perfect: "It looked so much like a college that movie-makers sometimes used it as a set. *Andy Hardy Goes to College* had been filmed there." Yet, during her visit, Mary detects something amiss. Her host and former colleague, Louise, refuses to discuss job prospects and monopolizes their conversations with complaints about her love life—mentioning only casually and at the last moment that Mary must address a formal assembly of faculty and students. In turn, the department chairman avoids the subject of her qualifications to opine instead about the local weather: "'Of course it snows here, and you have your rain now and then, but it's a dry rain.'" Other members of the department do not speak to her at all. The mystery remains unresolved until Mary's tour of the campus confronts her with the power-plant dynamo; there, in "the depths of the service building" before the vast, humming machine, her student-guide explains,

"People think the college is really old-fashioned . . . but it isn't. They let girls come here now, and some of the teachers are women. In fact, there's a statute that says they have to interview at least one woman for each opening."

No matter how successful her lecture, she is without hope, "brought here to satisfy a rule."

She speaks as scheduled—though not as planned—in the first authentic act of her academic career. Her lecture is spontaneous, visionary, lyric and simultaneously absurd; like a cog thrown into the works, Mary's pronouncements on justice and love disorder the machinery of expectation. (When distressed faculty members shout from the audience to quiet her, she avoids distraction by turning off her hearing aid.) Her moment of private deliverance is, of course, also a moment of public farce; "In the Garden of the North American Martyrs" does not glorify spontaneity or suggest that moral choice dissolves the conditions that provoke it. Mary's story and the collection of stories that share its title make a claim far less optimistic: there is, Wolff implies, no such thing as meaningless choice. Every decision emerges from a consciousness which it both expresses and modifies. In fact, a hardened core of habits, old compromises and pragmatic adjustments continues to support a structure that, at its living edges, can reshape or extend itself in surprising ways.

Not every story makes the point convincingly, however. The hazard of realistic fiction lies in its engagement with surfaces, and at times Wolff evokes situations with a skill that verges on facility. "Smokers," for example, offers a too-easy condemnation of adolescent social-climbing, while "Worldly Goods" teases at but does not unravel the complexities of a peculiarly self-isolated Southerner. In both cases, mirroring events has become an end in itself, and the result is sterile flashes of likeness. But when he chooses to, Wolff can do more than find the words for things; at his best, he can use words to test lives against accidental and self-selected conditions. When he concentrates on the interpenetration of mind and circumstance, then his perspective—however trivial the situation or purposefully alien the character—fixes our attention; for there the mirror has become a microscope and, in the words

of Wallace Stevens, "Life's nonsense pierces us with strange relation." □

THEATER.

RICHARD GILMAN

Mass Appeal No End of Blame

For almost a decade, the Manhattan Theatre Club has been a source of theatrical ideas and accomplishments. Perhaps more valuable than its particular successes, it's been a place where risks are taken as they almost never are on Broadway or in the increasingly nervous sectors of Off Broadway. It's true that artistic chances are constantly being taken in New York City's scores of even smaller theaters, but at the M.T.C., unlike almost all of those, the adventurousness is usually accompanied by skill. There are times when the skill is the adventure: the M.T.C. will do extremely well in spite of plays that are themselves not very impressive. And as its productions move on to Broadway, the M.T.C.'s inherent virtues frequently come to light, if only by contrast with values of the Big Time.

Mass Appeal is a two-character play that was first presented at the M.T.C. in 1980, where its author, Bill C. Davis, is a resident playwright. There's nothing remarkable about it, no dazzling originality or special force. But it's an intelligent work—literate, reasonable, sometimes a little sentimental and sometimes witty. In its Broadway incarnation, these qualities are for the most part still on display, but there's been a significant change, one very much for the worse.

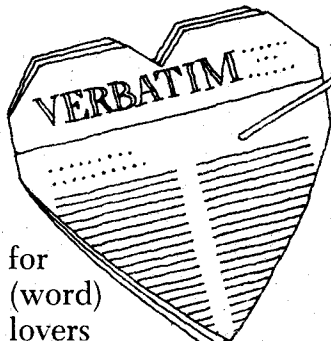
Mass Appeal's two characters are a priest named Tim Farley (Milo O'Shea) and a seminarian named Mark Dolson (Michael O'Keefe). They couldn't be more different: Farley is in his 60s, a wily veteran of church politics and parish intrigue; lonely, something of a tippler, he's managed to carve out a place for himself, having built a reputation among his congregation for clever, comforting sermons. Dolson is in his early 20s—*au courant*, idealistic, a young Turk who sees Catholic spirituality being maimed and degraded by priests like Farley, who confirm their parishioners' comfortable, literalized, socially irresponsible faith.

"Your sermon sucks," Dolson tells the priest at one point. "You say whatever they want to hear; you pacify them." Accusing the older man of wanting to be popular rather than spiritually effective, Dolson keeps prodding him toward "authenticity." Farley defends himself by appealing to the practical exigencies of a priest's service. Still, fond of the boy (there are some mild homoerotic implications), the priest argues the case with the head of the seminary when Dolson is in danger of being kicked out. Eventually he is, and he leaves with a fiery injunction to Farley to return to the intense, selfless work he had once done as a street-corner preacher.

For most of the way, the play maintains a nice balance of sympathy for both characters and a shrewd sense of moral complication. But in the culminating scene, the Broadway version departs radically from the M.T.C. production and the published text. In the M.T.C. production, the priest makes a token assent to the younger man's call to order, and then is seen quickly slipping back into his accommodating, self-preserving ways. On Broadway this is replaced by a passionate address to his invisible parishioners, a sermon in which Farley pleads for honesty, sacrifice and so on. The new ending is, of course, designed to send everyone out of the theater uplifted, buzzing with the satisfaction of having heard some really tough but *inspirational* words. That it cuts the heart out of the play doesn't seem to have been a consideration.

No End of Blame, by an Englishman named Howard Barker, ran recently at the M.T.C. As its subtitle ("Scenes of Overcoming") suggests, the production isn't much of a play, although it does have the rude makings of one. What made it worth seeing, however, were some admirable performances. Barker's drama is an episodic affair, which begins in the Carpathian Mountains during the last days of World War I and ends in London in 1973, with stops in Budapest, Moscow and several lesser places. The play is based on the life of a Hungarian political cartoonist whose fierce hatred of bureaucracy and official lying gets him in hot water wherever he goes. I suppose Barker's point is that there's not all that much difference between Communist oppression and that of ostensible democracies; one has to oppose power everywhere.

The new novel by
HANS KONING
THE KLEBER FLIGHT
Love, suspense and revenge
in the nuclear age.
"A truly great and
terrible theme."
—Shirley Hazzard

for
(word)
lovers

\$7.50
a year

VERBATIM P.O. BOX 668NA
ESSEX, CT 06426 U.S.A.
The Language Quarterly

'MYTHS ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST' Is Available At LOW BULK RATES

_____	1 copy	\$3
_____	10 copies	\$8
_____	50 copies	\$30
_____	100 copies	\$50
_____	1,000 copies	\$300

A special issue of *The Nation* (December 5) devoted to breaking the logomachy jam in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by subjecting the emotion-sodden rhetoric that weighs down current thinking to a blast of fresh ideas. With stereotype-toppling articles by Edward Said, Christopher Hitchens, Sadik al-Azm, Edward Mortimer and Michael Reisman.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Please make check or money order payable to *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

But the drama is pretty much predictable, as well as being spasmodic and at times incoherent.

The acting is another matter. A large cast, which nevertheless has to double and triple up to take care of the many roles, has very few weak spots and some extremely strong ones. Michael Cristofer, better known perhaps as the author of *The Shadow Box*, is surprisingly good in the lead part—surprising because Cristofer is usually a madman as an actor. But his performance here is relatively restrained and quite evocative. He's given robust support by, among others, Caitlin Clarke, Robin Bartlett, Joe Grifasi, Keith Reddin and, especially, Michael Gross. Playing roles that vary from a Red Army soldier to a Soviet art functionary to a British political figure, Gross is earnest, awkward and deliciously snooty by turns. His performances are among the best I've seen this season. □

FILMS.

ROBERT HATCH

Whose Life Is It Anyway? Over the Edge

Brian Clark's *Whose Life Is It Anyway?* was a most successful play that has recently been made into a most successful movie (screenplay by Clark and Reginald Rose). As everyone probably knows by now, it concerns a talented, sensitive and witty man who has been so massively injured in a car accident that he is completely, and permanently, paralyzed from the neck down, and who therefore demands that he be allowed to die. It depressed me when I saw it on the stage, and again when I saw it on the screen. Tragedy does not usually so affect me; on the contrary, I am usually uplifted. But *Whose Life* is not tragic; it lacks the conflict between good and evil, truth and falsehood, on which tragedy depends. It is merely sad, and I wonder why people flock so eagerly to see it.

They do so, perhaps, because it presents in extreme terms a topic of urgent general concern. Medical technology has become so expert at preserving the spark of life in a moribund body that a pressing debate has arisen over the right of an individual to insist that his or her spark be let fail. Further, the

film is no doubt relished because, at a time when meanness and self-interest seem in the ascendancy, it is irradiated by a unanimous display of tenderness, solicitude and general nobility of spirit. Finally—though there can be no moral conflict when everyone is on the side of the injured man—a poignant, suspense-filled struggle develops between the will of this helpless but indomitable creature and the humanitarian impulses of those who love and admire him, and cannot bear to see him die.

As you would expect, the intelligence and courage of the stricken man bring out the best in all those near to him. I cannot recall a film in which so many actors and actresses were privileged to represent the human race at the top of its form. It is the chance of a lifetime for everyone concerned, and the cast dig in like pensioners at a banquet. Richard Dreyfuss is the broken, desperate, but formidable protagonist. John Cassavetes plays the doctor for whom the preservation of life is an absolute duty and who believes it would be a sin to acquiesce in the extinction of a mind as excellent as the one now entrusted to his care. Also present are Christine Lahti as the loving and loyal mistress who finally absents herself at the man's pleading, and Bob Balaban as the rather timorous lawyer who fights valorously on behalf of the client whose case, he confesses, he would prefer to lose.

The film, under John Badham's direction, is faithful to the argument and development of the play, but less astringent. On the screen, we are shown the hero in the pride of his manhood, before the car crash (which we also see in graphic detail) strikes him down. His tormenting erotic dreams are choreographed amid enveloping clouds. He had been a sculptor, and a plaster cast of a hand by Michelangelo is brought to his bedside. During the hour when a judge struggles to reach his verdict as to the hero's rights, a heavy snow streams from the sky. These movie "touches" seem intended to make certain that the audience shall weep, but the story is tearful enough without the embellishments. That is what estranges me—tragedy cleanses the spirit; pathos is debilitating.

Another film that strikes a currently exposed nerve, but which I found myself resisting (for all its worthy intent and professional excellence) is Jonathan Kaplan's *Over the Edge*. It deals with

delinquency among the children of the affluent middle class, and carries a foreword which suggests that the script by Charlie Haas and Tim Hunter is based on research. That may well be so, and I salute the social concern of those responsible for the picture. However, it seems to me that movie values have been allowed to prevail over the intended appeal to reason.

New Granada, California, is an instant oasis on the edge of the desert, where young executives may conveniently park their families. It is a very new "planned community"; in fact, it is as yet incomplete, and a problem arises because its teen-age population has fallen into a state of overt rebellion that might incline potential investors (specifically, a group of Texans interested in building a shopping mall) to take their money elsewhere. This enrages the backers and promoters of New Granada, who appear to attribute the antisocial exploits of the young to innate viciousness, and who have not wondered if it may be unwise to provide boys and girls with abundant pocket money but no licit outlets for their considerable energy.

To be sure, there is a well-appointed school, designed, like the rest of the development, to sit well in the lunar desolation that surrounds New Granada. However, the pupils do not take very enthusiastically to education, largely because a steady ingestion of drugs has dulled their appetite for learning. A Quonset hut has also been set up as a recreation hall, and there a young social worker tries to "communicate" with her charges. They appreciate her concern and understand that she is powerless to improve their situation. Except for their parents, who alternately indulge and threaten them, the only other adult close to the teen-agers is a police officer whose idea of community relations is to frisk every youth on whom he can lay his hands.

Eventually he shoots one of them, and this leads to a children's crusade, during which the young lock the participants of a council of war (their parents, that is) into the school building, whose rooms they vandalize before setting fire to the cars parked outside. The picture ends with the nicest of the children being hauled off to reform school.

In fact, all the boys and girls are nice—intelligent, charming, lost and frightened. Even the odious bully of the

crowd turns out to be decent when the chips are down. As a group, they are intensely loyal and mutually supportive, tolerant of one another and affectionate. The one love affair we are shown is sweetly tentative and sad. Understandably, the teen-agers crave relief from the hostility and boredom that surround them, and the only recourse at hand seems to be mischief at

a steadily rising level of destructiveness. By contrast, the adults are self-concerned hustlers, who chivy one another, drug themselves liberally on alcohol and view adolescents as a threat to property values.

Over the Edge, as you may have gathered, is a study in black and white. It arouses your anger, passionately enlists your sympathies and grips you in

alarmed anticipation as the hostile forces maneuver for the heavily foreshadowed clash. But it is plotted, cast and directed to succeed as violent entertainment. Anyone still unaware that juvenile delinquency afflicts the suburbs as well as the slums may be jolted awake by the film, but otherwise it fails to strike home. *Over the Edge* plays well, but does not look real. □

CLASSIFIED.

HEALTH

CANCER BREAKTHROUGH—as revealed in *Spotlight and Globe* 9-15-81 "Incredible cure-results within 30 days." For information send S.A.S.E., Medical Consultants, 781 W. Oakland Pk. Blvd., Ft. Lauderdale, FL 33311.

HERPES—Send \$2 for our complete booklet on causes, prevention, treatments. Women's Health Center, 250 Locust, Santa Cruz, CA 95060.

GH-3 GEROVITAL—Amazing Romanian Anti-Aging health rejuvenator. Now for in home use. Romanian formula available here. For information send SASE: Rejuvenate, 1323 SE 17 St. 201, Ft. Lauderdale, FL 33316.

HELP WANTED

BECOME A WINNER! New Multi-level company looking for self-motivated leaders to help found sponsorship lines. WIN-WIN MARKETING, PO Box 264, Avonreevesville, NY 12186 or call 518-765-2016 after 7 P.M.

CHANGE JOBS, CHANGE THE WORLD! Every year, COMMUNITY JOBS, a monthly journal, lists over 2,000 job and internship openings in social change work nationwide. Work for a job you can believe in! Just send \$2 for a sample issue. Write: COMMUNITY JOBS, Box 405, 1520 16th St. NW, Washington DC 20036.

MIDDLE EAST PROGRAM COORDINATOR, American Friends Service Committee. Strong experience in community organizing, program planning and knowledge of Middle East issues. Applicants encouraged regardless of race, sex, religion or sexual orientation. Negotiable three-fifths to full-time. Resumes to: Ms. Corley, AFSC, 407 South Dearborn, Suite 370, Chicago, IL 60605.

MISCELLANEOUS

DISARM YOURSELF. Stamped envelope to New Party, 8319 Fulham Court, Richmond, VA 23227.

SAVE A STUDENT! Contribute financial aid to needy law students today in return for future legal services. Write 8757-B Woodman Way, Sacramento, CA 95826.

THE 20 BEST weight control ideas of the 80's for only \$1 & SASE: FAT! PO Box 10117, Towson, MD 21204.

COMPLETE ASTROLOGICAL CHART—Learn the meaning of your ascendant, moon and planet signs, houses, aspects. I'll prepare a special booklet containing your natal horoscope and ten pages of fascinating interpretations. Compatibility guide, too! Send \$5 with date, time, place of birth. Satisfaction guaranteed. Bob's Charts, 405 East Third, Suite D-206, Long Beach, CA 90802.

UNIVERSAL GULLIBILITY TEST. Two copies for \$1. KGM, PO Box 3354, Kansas City, KS 66103.

TRAVEL

MOUNTAIN HOT-SPRINGS HOTEL in private valley: sunshine, swimming, massage, rest. Room & meals from \$25 daily. Brochure: Apdo 1-1187, Guadalajara, Mexico.

COLORADO OUTWARD BOUND SCHOOL invites you to take a break with us. Free catalog on adult courses. 945 Pennsylvania, Dept. NA, Denver, CO 80203, 303-837-0880.

DISCOVER CUBA: Individual beach trips for sun lovers; "get acquainted" and special interest group tours. From \$365/weekend to \$880/fortnight. Weekly departures from Miami. Brochure: Anniversary Tours, 250 W. 57 St., New York, NY 10107; (212) 245-7501, toll free out-of-state 800-223-1336.

WYOMING RANCH VACATION. Family fun. Good food, fishing, riding, relaxing. Spectacular Rocky Mountain scenery. Famous for 67 yrs. VALLEY RANCH, South Fork Star Route TN, Cody, WY 82414. (307) 587-4661.

6 WEEKS IN EUROPE—\$2875. June 13-July 25. Leisurely tour: London, Paris, Vienna, Rome, Venice, Florence, Palio in Siena, Amsterdam, Geneva, Munich, Rothenburg, Cruise down Rhine. All transportation (from NYC). All hotels. Most meals. Fine Arts emphasis, RICHARD BROTHERS, University Box 2710, Fayetteville, AK 72701.

CHINA HEALTH TOUR. April 14-May 4, Hong Kong, Peking, Shanghai, Sian, Kweilin, Canton. Mass. Public Health Assoc., 55 Dimock St., Boston, MA 02119.

Freighter Cruises First Class \$50 A Day!

Discover the luxury cruise you've dreamed of. *TravTips Cruise & Freighter Travel Association* will show you how. Membership includes:

- 36-pg. bi-monthly publication describing cruises in detail, schedules, fares and facts
- Personalized help with trip planning
- Eligibility for exclusive voyages
- Membership fee applied to first cruise

\$15.00 (one year) or \$22.50 (2 years)
Send check, m.o., or major credit card no. or ask for free details:

TravTips

Dept. U7 Box 933 Farmingdale, NY 11737
Add \$2 per year U.S. funds for Canada & Mexico.

HOTELS

ST. CHARLES HOTEL, Washington, D.C., Dupont Circle/Embassy District, large rooms, color T.V.'s, air-conditioning, refrigerators, deli-restaurant, Best Buy in D.C., from \$35. 800-424-2463.

MERCHANDISE

THE LEGENDARY UNICORN



comes to life in this unique art poster—capturing the ancient creature in a new, whimsical and amusing pose. This full color poster comes ready for framing. A great hang up!

Enclosed is my check for _____ for _____ poster(s). Send \$5.50 (2 for \$10.00) to:
IL residents add 6% • outside U.S.A. add \$1.00

Our Solution • P.O. Box 403
Lake Bluff, IL 60044

Allow 4-6 weeks for delivery

VACUUM CLEANERS. "Discount Prices" "New" Rainbow \$349.95, Kirby, Filter Queen, Compact, Details: ABC Vacuum Warehouse, 7021 Burnet-N, Austin, TX 78757.

ATTN. CABLE SUBSCRIBERS descramblers converters. Plans & Parts, Build or Buy. Send \$2 for catalog. JDT Electronics Inc., PO Box 8274, Gr. Rapids, MI 49508.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

MAKE HOMEMADE BOOKLETS. I've earned \$187,000 with mine. Free information: Florin, PO Box 548, Woodville, TX 75799.

Gold & Silver Scrap

Available Everywhere. Buy scrap gold & Silver for Big Profit. Write for Free Details.

L. C. Meredith

P.O. Box 11216 K Reno, NV 89510

MAILORDER OPPORTUNITY! Start profitable home business without experience or capital. Write for free book, plus details. No obligation. Mail Order Associates, Dept. 457, Montvale, NJ 07645.

ASSOCIATIONS

BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY. Information: N, RD1, Box 409, Coopersburg, Pa. 18036

CLASSIFIED.

LITERARY SERVICES

BOOKS—Used and rare. FREE search service. Send wants to James Books, Box 521B, Brookline, MA 02147.

STILL LOOKING FOR A BOOK? Free search service pls. write Peter Sperling—Books, Dept. A, PO Box 300 Old Chelsea Sta., New York, NY 10113-0300.

FICTION CONSULTANT. 2227 20 St. N.W., 402 Washington, DC 20009.

\$300 for fiction. Stories, 358 Comm. Ave., Bos., MA 02115.

ARTICLE MANUSCRIPTS—Critiqued, refereed. SASE. SCHOLAR AND EDUCATOR journal, 417 South Madison, Macomb, IL 61455.

WRITING, research, statistics—all fields, low cost. RESEARCH SERVICE, Chicago, IL. (312) 282-5289.

REAL ESTATE

CHICAGO BOUND? Live in Oak Park—unique urban suburb. Classic architecture, active diverse population, excellent library and schools. Just 15 minutes from downtown Chicago by public transportation. Free housing referral service—brochures, too. Contact Donna, OAK PARK HOUSING CENTER, 1041 South Blvd., Oak Park, IL 60302 (312) 848-7150.

TUCSON, ARIZONA. Buy Townhouses, residences, land motels, apartments. Free information. Reputable Roy Long Realty, 5671 N. Oracle Rd., 85704. M.J. Barrett.

GIFTS

FANTASY PRODUCTS. Unicorns, dragons, wizards, SF buttons, notecards, stickers, etc. Free catalog: T-K Graphics, PO Box 1950-NA, Baltimore, MD 21203.

MILITARY COLLECTING

MILITARY MEDALS, badges, insignia, etc. Large catalog 50¢. Quincy Sales, Box 7792-X, Tulsa, OK 74105.

RECIPES

POLYNESIAN DRINKS. Authentic recipes: \$2. Tedar Press, P.O. Box 414, Chillicothe, OH 45601-0414.

PUBLICATIONS

TECHNOCRACY—TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for one dollar from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

SCRIPTWRITER NEWS. Bi-weekly newsletter for entertainment writers. Exclusive market news. Script contracts for film, theater, cable, contests, grants & more. One yr. sub., \$36; sample issue, \$3. 250 W. 57 St., #224N, New York, NY 10019.

ROCKY MOUNTAIN EMPLOYMENT NEWSLETTER!! Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming!! Current openings—All occupations!! Write today for free details to INTER-MOUNTAIN-7F, 3506 Birch, Cheyenne, WY 82001.

CENTRAL AMERICA must not become another Vietnam. Supporters and subscribers needed by NY Guatemalan Solidarity Group. For free sample of weekly newsletter write: CSPG, PO Box 270, Wyckoff Hts. Sta., Brooklyn, NY 11237.

EYE-WITNESS TO POLAND. Daily journal of political novelist Gordon DeMarco's September 1981 trip & exclusive: Reprints in English, CONGRESS POST, Solidarity's daily newspaper, reporting its National Congress & national/international press on martial law. \$5.50, Germinal Press, PO Box 31463, San Francisco, CA 94131.

MODERN HAIKU: Premier haiku magazine; cash awards. Sample: \$2.50. PO Box 1752, Madison, WI 53701.

GRASSY KNOLL GAZETTE—8 pgs., bi-monthly advice uncovering Coverup of who killed JFK, MLK, RFK et al. \$10/yr. Cutler Designs, Box 1465, Manchester, MA 01944.

QUERIES

AUTHOR seeks correspondence, offerings from men/women over 70. View of self, society, life. V.H.H., PO Box 24951, Rochester, NY 14624.

RECORDS & TAPES

HEAR THE LECTURES OF INGERSOLL. "The Great Agnostic" of the Nineteenth Century, in six narrated, edited cassette tapes. \$35 per set. Freedom From Religion Foundation, PO Box 40, Asbury, NJ 08802.

BOOKS

"LET ME DIE BEFORE I WAKE" and **"JEAN'S WAY,"** unique books on self-deliverance for the dying. Available through Hemlock Society, PO Box 66218, Los Angeles, CA 90066. Send SASE or call (213) 391-1871.

WHAT WOULD HUCK FINN have to say about the firing up of the once-cold war? He had plenty to say in the Fifties, though most of us weren't listening! But we'd better listen this time to the kind of common sense Americans were born with—which Huck Finn still has because he wasn't educated out of it! For his comments on this and other subjects, order your copy of **Tom Sawyer Comes Home** by Dorothy Langley. It's only \$7.95—and worth more than the B-1s in your budget. Send your check to Traumwald Press, #10, 3550 Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, IL 60657.

PICTURES FROM THE PAST: "Memorable and outstanding" (Small Press Review). "Unforgettable and powerful. Beautiful and disturbing stories that depict the triumphs and affirmations of women's experience." (Big Mama Rag). "Ruth Geller's characters come alive and touch the pathos in all of us. Memorable." (Bflo Evening News). Order from your local bookstore or send \$7.95 to Imp Press, PO Box 93, Bflo, NY 14213.

THE SCARLET THREAD by Gardner Taylor. Nineteen sermons on Christian living in our secular culture \$4 Paperback, \$9 Hardback. Progressive Baptist Publishers, 850 North Grove Ave., Elgin, IL 60120.

ALCHEMY: AN INTRODUCTION to the Symbolism and the Psychology, by Marie-Louise von Franz, Jungian Analyst. Invaluable for an understanding of images and motifs in modern dreams. 84 illustrations, 288 pages. \$15.60. Inner City Books, PO Box 1271-N, Station Q, Toronto, Canada M4T 2P4.

THE FILMS OF JENNIFER JONES. Privately printed hard-bound book with dust jacket. 300 photos, color frontispiece, story of ea. film, exhaustive note section. Available only from author. \$16 complete. Frank Moshier, 312 Teresita Blvd., San Francisco, CA 94127.

MINIATURE BOOKS OF JAPAN. Tatsuo Go, Moritakabatake 621, Toyama City, 931, Japan.

A SHORTER WORKWEEK IN THE 1980s, by William McGaughy. For book, send \$7.95 to: Thistlerose Publ., 5161 E. County Line, White Bear, MN 55110.

JOB OPPORTUNITIES

CALIFORNIA! Get job help fast. Low fees. We search out opportunities for your better future. K M & L Associates, 2013 Veteran Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90025.

GUIDES TO WISDOM

THOUGHT: Miracle Tool for Effective Living. \$2 and SASE. Cuts labor, time and pain. Commonsense Books, 212N North Road, Chelmsford, MA 01824.

VIDEO & FILM

NORTHERN LIGHTS/THE WAR AT HOME 10% discount on rental or purchase. Excellent for organizing, classrooms, or fundraisers.

New Front Films
1409 Willows St., Suite 505
Minneapolis, MN 55403
(612) 872-0805

For the convenience of those who wish to place a classified notice in *THE NATION*:

RATES: \$.75 per word, 15 word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Copy deadline 17 days prior to week of publication. Payment must accompany order.

Take advantage of our special offer: place an order for two insertions of your ad. and we will print a third insertion free!

TO: THE NATION

Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y. N.Y. 10011

Enclosed is my check for \$_____ for my advertisement to run _____ weeks

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Copy: _____

Payment in U.S. currency

Crossword Puzzle No. 1901

FRANK W. LEWIS

PERSONALS

NEW-AGE SINGLES meet and publish in Contact High. Free details (sample \$2): Box 500-N, Mendocino, CA 95460.

A LIBERTARIAN, retired gentleman, vibrant, dedicated and intensely sentimental, seeks a sensible, constant and knowledgeable secretary/co-author and, eventually, companion. Contact: Nicola Piesco, 210 No. Florence Ave., Westfield, NJ 07090.

ORIENTAL CONTACTS. Cherry Blossoms, Honokaa, HI 96727.

UNATTACHED? Meet aware, literate singles—like YOU! Very low fee. Call DATELINE—free: 800-451-3245.

WOMAN, 54, literate, assertive, healthy, creative, affectionate, sensible, smart, and poor. Seeks man, similar. Write Nation Box 63.

ORIENTAL FRIENDSHIP CORRESPONDENCE. Lovely photos! Golden Hearts, PO Box 2423-N, Yakima, WA 98907.

PERU: Imprisoned American needs kind word, friend, decency. Articulate photographer, 55, a reader, human and warm. Harry Wein: c/o Lansiers; Apartados-1503; Lima, Peru.

I'M 23 YRS. OLD, white male, 5'11", 145 lbs., with green eyes & brown hair. I enjoy all types of Art, Music & sports. I would really enjoy hearing from anyone, as I value and appreciate meeting people and sharing what life has to offer. James R. Wright #151-833, PO Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

UNUSUAL ITEMS

FREE! World's Leading Novelty Catalog. 1800 Jokes, Tricks, Science, Sports, Hobbies. Things You Never Knew Existed, Johnson Smith, C-255, Mt. Clemens, MI 48043.

CHINA FOR SALE

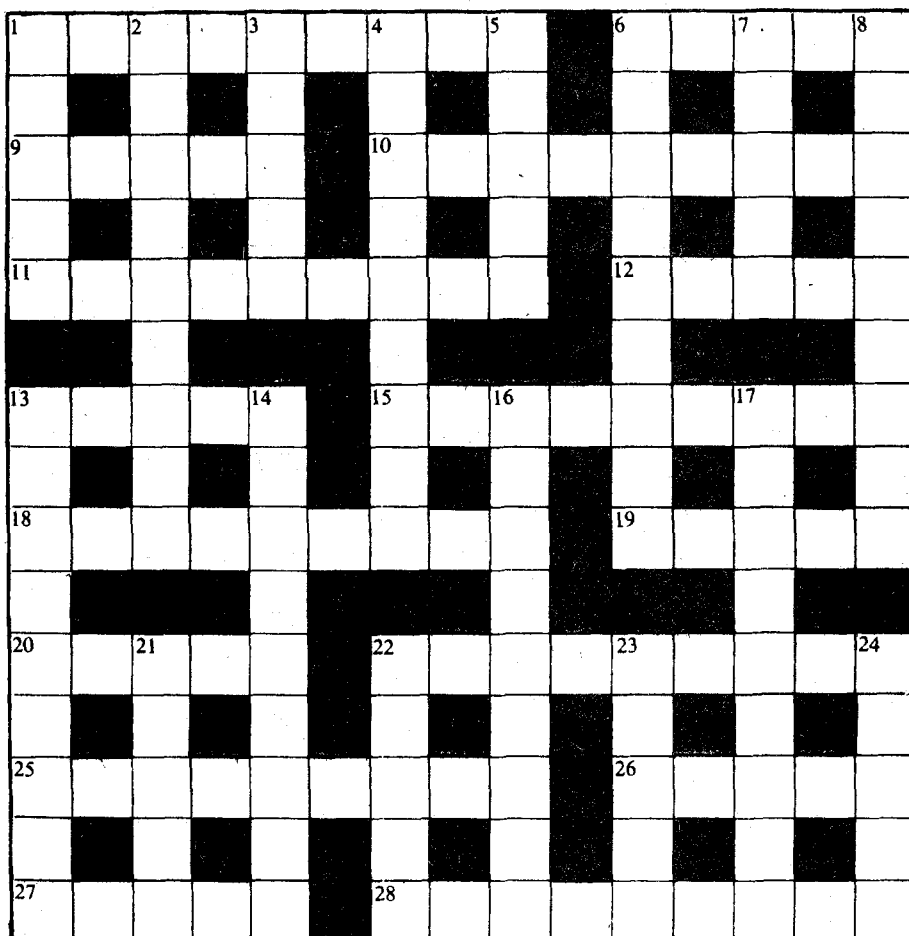
ENGLISH CHINA: Buy-Sell-Matching. List specific wants Long list, 40¢ stamps. Geisers, R # 1, PO Box 426 Rolla, MO 65401.

RELIGION

JESUS FICTIONAL! Positive proof Flavius Josephus created Jesus, authored Gospels. Scholarly booklet, \$3: Vector, PO Box 6215-A, Bellevue, WA 98007.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1900

S	N	O	W	M	O	B	I	L	E	S
B	E	A	B	B	O	R				
P	E	R	I	S	C	O	P	E	W	E
H	G	H	E	R	I	F				
B	A	T	H	M	A	T	S	I	G	N
V	B	N	G	A						
B	E	H	O	L	D	E	N	E	S	T
R		A		T						
D	I	G	S	U	P	S	I	B	E	R
N		O	H	L	A	B				
A	S	P	H	A	L	T	H	A	L	I
I	O	E	W	C	G	C				
E	D	A	M	C	R	A	C	K	H	O
E	E	A	L	E	T	S				
B	R	I	T	T	L	E	S	S		



ACROSS

- 1 With nails properly fixed, might it be a curt introduction by the doctor? (9)
- 6 Such as 1 down might be hard to answer. (5)
- 9 He wrote of the French enemy. (5)
- 10 One thing we know Stanley was doing at the meeting! (9)
- 11 Irregular genes show such magnitude inside. (9)
- 12 Noble actions that sometimes imply trust. (5)
- 13 and 26 What one does with pipe and a small nail, perhaps to raise the level of pollution. (10)
- 15 Something in addition to a mixed diet? That's what some countries do to criminals! (9)
- 18 Even if you cleaned your plate, this might wind up a little dirty. (9)
- 19 Park set improperly between two points. (5)
- 20 When alligators are said to be seen. (5)
- 22 Bust, by the sound of it, what you might beat as part of the halter. (9)
- 25 The perfect lover? (4,5)
- 26 See 13
- 27 Vehicle with pale green (as they say) interior. (5)
- 28 Pooh, for example, goes after what he likes, being a kinkajou. (5,4)

DOWN

- 1 Seldom without initial direction, but confused by what is often followed. (5)
- 2 Sets USA on fire? That's bad! (9)

- 3 If it's not the type that's good to eat, hang it! (5)
- 4 What a congressman might do concerning what some do to arms . . . (9)
- 5 . . . right in the army, being lined up. (5)
- 6 Heavily tamp a hunk of tobacco? (It doesn't have to be so heavy, being the type likely to be chewed.) (5,4)
- 7 What's the point to drink or meat in the future, possibly? (5)
- 8 Soprano and bass, for example, might ring up sales. (9)
- 13 Part of the horse's trappings seem to put a burden on the arch. (9)
- 14 This might be awarded in a period of time. (9)
- 16 Sailor/saint in the sort of jacket the old salt asked to be wrapped in. (9)
- 17 Somewhat off center, if a way two systems meet. (9)
- 21 Badly want a note with a vibrating sound. (5)
- 22 Tree near the ocean, by the sound of it. (5)
- 23 One might so try writing. (5)
- 24 Sewer following 5, but one might end up with something new. (5)

SEE LAST WEEK'S
SOLUTION AT LEFT

IF YOU'RE WORRIED ABOUT THE COUNTRY, TRY **The Nation.**

P.O. Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305

YES!!! Send me 16 issues of *The Nation* for \$11.95, a savings of 40% off the newsstand price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a refund for all unmailed copies.

☐ My payment is enclosed — reward me with
FOUR FREE ADDITIONAL ISSUES!

☐ Please bill me later.

NAME _____
(PLEASE PRINT)
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

SEND THE NATION TO A FRIEND! (And save \$2.)
Please send 16 issues of *The Nation* to the following people at the special gift rate of just \$11.95 for the first and \$9.95 for each additional gift. And send a card announcing the subscription(s).

GIFT TO _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

GIFT TO _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

☐ Enclosed is \$ _____ for _____ subscription(s).
(Extend each subscription FOUR FREE ISSUES.)

☐ Bill me later.

Add \$3 postage for each foreign subscription. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

D8205

**40% OFF
NEWSSTAND PRICE**

**SAVE AN
ADDITIONAL \$2.00**